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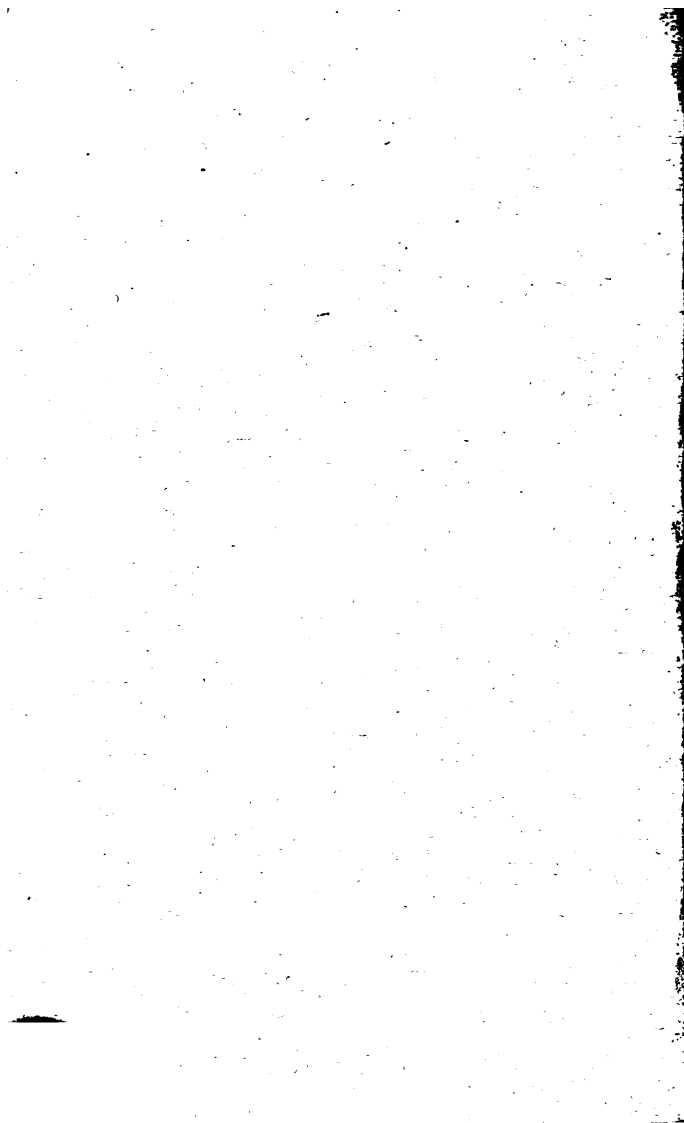
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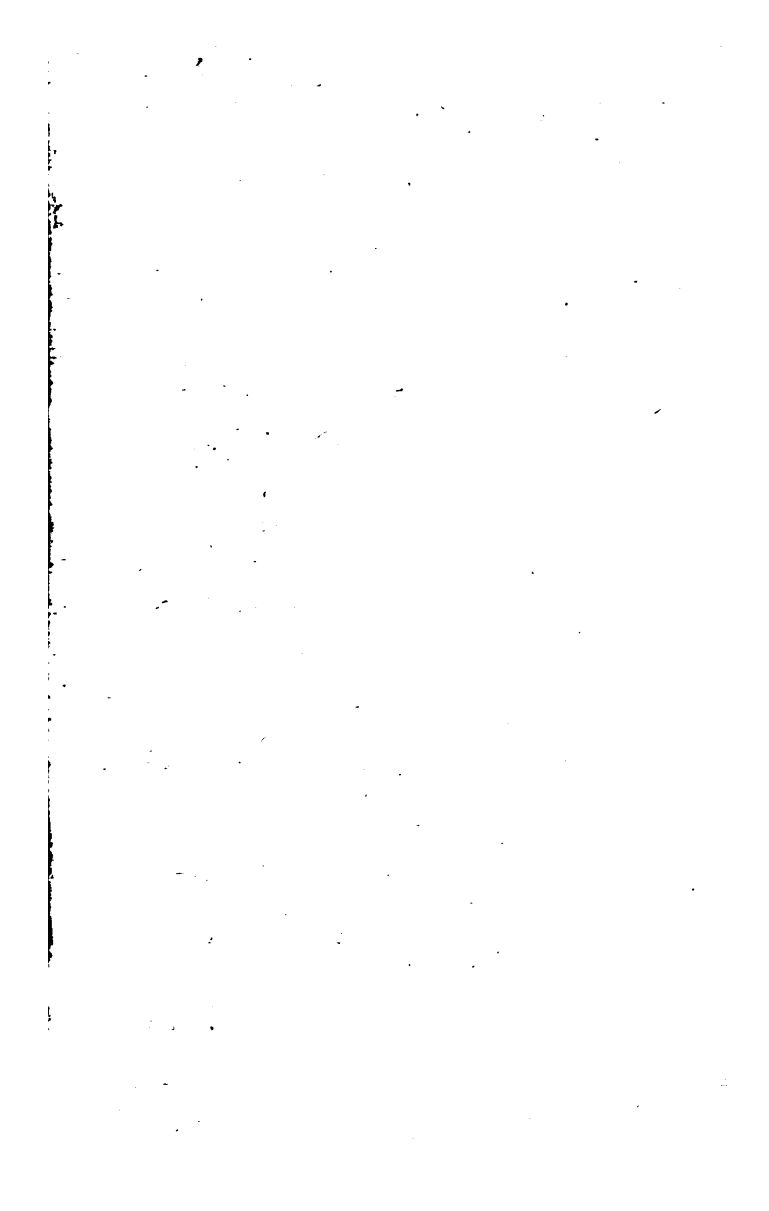
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SKETCHES

FROM

VENETIAN HISTORY.

Smedley, Edward

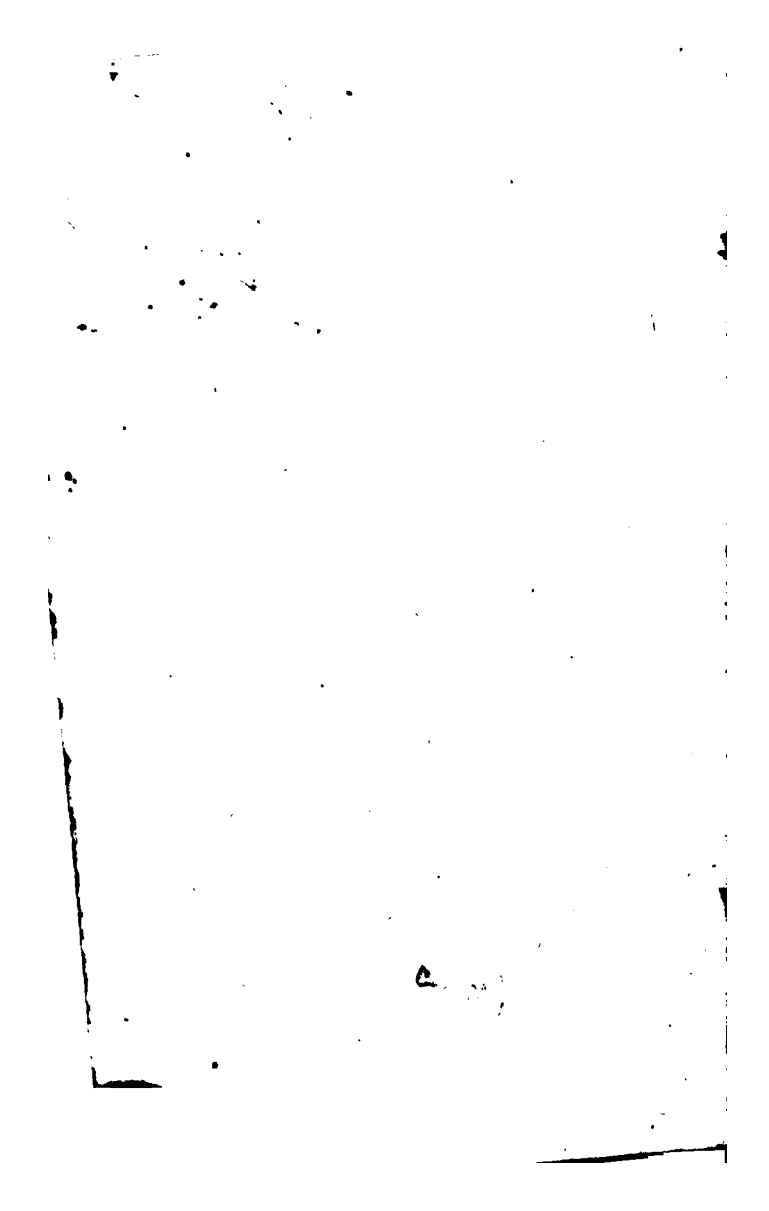
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DOGES.

A. D.

MICHAELE STENO.

1413. LXVI. TOMASO MONCENIGO.

1423. LXVII. FRANCESCO FOSCARI.

About the hour of vespers on the 17th of January, 1406, reports of the death of Francesco da Carrara were circulated through Venice, with such variations respecting its attendant circumstances as the difficulty of obtaining correct knowledge of truth, or the danger of repeating more than the government might be pleased to avow, attached, for the most part, to all great national transactions of the republic. Some of the busy knots assembled in the piazza mysteriously hinted the facts as they really occurred, and loudly praised the indefeasible power and justice of their rulers. The majority, with greater caution, averred that the Lord of Padua had died of a catarrh;* and significantly congratu-

* Sanuto, 832, *fu detto esser morto di catarra*.

10 REFLECTIONS ON THE EXECUTION OF

lated one another by the application of the chief argument on which Giacompo dal Verme had rested the necessity and the policy of the bloody sentence, 'A dead man makes no war!'^{*} We know not whether it was during a period of former alliance, or after this unhappy prince's death, that his statue was placed in the hall of the armoury of the Council of Ten;[†] but down even to our own days, the members of the dark and despotic tribunal by which was perpetrated the great crime of his murder, could never assemble to deliberate on fresh deeds of cruelty, without passing under the very image and likeness of their most illustrious victim.

It is painful to remember that Carlo Zeno had any share in this most atrocious and unjustifiable process, and there is no one who will not be gratified to learn, that although he is named among the commissioners to whom the first cognizance of it was intrusted, he does not appear to have voted for a higher punishment than imprisonment.[‡] Even such an infliction, however, would have been a gross breach of the law of nations; for Carrara was an independent sovereign, long recognised as such by Venice herself, and resting his title on claims to the full as legitimate as those of any other Italian prince of his time. He had a plenary right of peace and war; and, under defeat, the sole penalties to which he could be justly subjected were those common to the vanquished; a curtailment or forfeiture of his dominions, and captivity till he should be ransomed. But even from these rights of victory his enemies were precluded by the engagements under which he had been decoyed to Venice; and having freely confided himself to their safe-conduct for the purpose of negotiation, he could be as little regarded a prisoner of war, as an offender against laws to which he did not owe obedience. His condemnation was a grievous and crying wickedness; and—would that it were without *such* a parallel!—must be classed by historians in the same page with that of the hapless Mary of Scotland.

A most odious act of ingratitude towards the wisest, purest, bravest, and greatest individual of his times yet remains to be recorded in illustration of the detestable policy of the Council of Ten. Immediately on the occupation of

^{*} Sanuto, 832, *uom morto non fa guerra.*

[†] *Forestiero illuminato*, 31.

[‡] Sanuto, 869.

Padua, commissioners were appointed to inspect and register the property of the recent signor, and among these dividers of the spoil Carlo Zeno was numbered. The settlement, however, demanded a longer absence from home than his advanced years now rendered convenient; and accordingly he solicited recall, and received the desired permission. In arranging the papers of Carrara, a memorandum was found touching the payment of 400 ducats to Zeno; an insignificant transaction, of which, by accepting the proffered commissionership, he would have possessed full power, if he had so wished, to obliterate every trace. The sum too was so utterly unimportant to a rich Venetian noble, distinguished by the boundless liberality of his general expenditure, and by the magnificent donations which he had bestowed upon the state during the war of Chiozza, that the most ingenious jealousy of suspicion could scarcely exaggerate this trifling payment into a bribe; even if the long and splendid services, the tried and established fidelity, and the spotless and unassailable honour of the personage chiefly concerned, had failed of themselves to secure him from the possibility of a charge so monstrous. No whisper of corruption, however, was breathed, and not a shadow of doubt remained upon the minds of the commissioners who denounced Zeno to the *avogadori*, of the *avogadori* who accused him to the Ten, or of the Ten themselves who judged the cause, that the short and simple explanation offered by the defendant was in strict accordance with truth. Zeno stated, that on passing through Asti, while on his route for investiture by Galeazzo Visconti with the government of Milan, he found Carrara, at that time a prisoner, destitute of comforts and almost even of necessaries: touched with pity for the low fortunes of a prince at once a personal friend, an ally of the republic, and a Venetian senator, Zeno opened to him his own stores, loaded him with presents, and tendered that loan of which the memorandum now produced was but a note of repayment, unwillingly accepted after Carrara's restoration.* But this instinct of a frank and generous nature prompting the relief of a great man in adversity, had nothing in it which could awaken sympathy in the cold and passionless assembly to which it

* *Neque petenti, neque volenti, sed obstinatè etiam recusanti, et plane invito.* Vit. C. Zeni apud Muratori, XIX. 345.

12 DISGRACE AND DEATH OF CARLO ZENO.

was related. The charge upon which they had to decide involved a money transaction with a foreign potentate ; to lend to such a one was inconsistent with the strict duty of a Venetian, but to receive from him became a high state crime. The iron and unbending despotism of the Venetian law refused to admit any qualification or excuse for a transgression of its literal code : and the very splendour of Carlo Zeno's name, as it rendered his deviation more conspicuous, was to be received, not as a plea for pardon, but in aggravation of penalty. He was sentenced to dismissal from all his offices, and imprisonment for two years. That such a judgment should be passed accords as closely with the general character of the government which inflicted it, as implicit and un murmuring submission does with that of Zeno : but if it be asked why his fellow-citizens did not rise as one man, and demand the liberation of their great and guiltless hero, the chief glory of their country and their age ? the problem must be resolved either by the want of feeling of the many, or their want of power, when opposed to authority, which, although administered without regard to justice, was nevertheless strongly and discreetly organized for its own maintenance and preservation.

The remaining years of Carlo Zeno's life were spent almost in as full activity as these of his youth. We read of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, of his employment as commander of the Cypriotes in repelling an invasion of the Genoese, and even of his remarriage, when now long past the psalmist's limits of the age of man. Fully retaining all his faculties till the latest moment, he expired on the 8th of May, 1418, a few days after the completion of his eighty-fourth year. His body, when preparing for the last rites, exhibited scars of no fewer than thirty-five wounds ; it was interred with magnificent honours becoming his unexampled merits ; attended by the doge and senate, and the whole marshalled population of his fellow-citizens ; and borne, at their zealous and express desire, by the mariners who had served under him, and who eagerly thronged to support in turn the precious burden. The Latin funeral oration spoken at his grave by Leonardo Justiniani is still preserved to us ; and if it cannot rank in eloquence with those of Pericles and Mark Antony, still the facts which it relates of him who is its subject places him most deservedly among those

very few of mankind, who, not less by their solid virtues than by their dazzling exploits, have attained the summit of human glory.

It is to Milan that the thread of our history now for a while reconducts us. Few periods of heavier calamity ever afflicted the always suffering Lombard cities than that which is comprised in the ten years succeeding A. D. 1402. the demise of Giovanni-Galeazzo Visconti. Of the regency of his widowed Duchess Catarina we have already spoken; it was stained by weakness, cruelty, and bloodshed, and it terminated in her imprisonment and A. D. 1404. violent death by poison. Giovanni-Maria, the eldest of Galeazzo's two legitimate sons, on his emancipation from tutelage and accession to the throne of Milan, abandoned himself to the wildest impulses of insane ferocity; and if the chroniclers may be believed, he slaked his unnatural thirst for blood by training his hounds to the chase of criminals, and feeding them upon human flesh. To his brother, Filippo-Maria, had fallen the sovereignty of Pavia; but during the weakness of that prince's minority, the virtual rule had been wrested from him by the ambition of Facimo Cane, the neighbouring Lord of Alexandria; who found little difficulty in soon afterward extending his dominion over Milan itself. That he still permitted the brothers whom he had dethroned to live must be attributed to his own want of issue; and the terrified Milanese, perceiving while the usurper, after several years peaceable rule, lay on his death-bed, that his authority was about to revert to the monster whose savage nature had been awhile controlled, A. D. 1412. rose in a body and massacred Giovanni-Maria. Facimo Cane survived but a few hours after this outrage, and in his last words, as if he himself had preserved inviolate allegiance, he denounced the treachery which had thus cut off the legitimate sovereign of Lombardy, and disregarded the natural rights of the son of her ancient lord. It was at first supposed that Filippo-Maria would be involved in a fate similar to that of his brother, and that the throne would be transferred to Hector, a son of the late Bernabo Visconti: but Filippo, with a foresight little expected from his youth, lost not a moment in securing the castle of Pavia and proffering his hand to the widow of Facimo Cane. Their disparity of years (the prince was twenty, Beatrice

Tenda, whom he espoused, double that age) weighed little against the substantial advantages of this alliance ; which secured the support of all the followers of Cane, and firmly established Filippo-Maria in the dukedom of his late father. Scarcely, however, did he feel his power rooted, before, disregarding all bonds of gratitude, the treacherous prince threw off his disguise. Beatrice, no longer necessary to promote his ambition, proved an encumbrance upon his pleasures ; and at the expense of an atrocious crime, he eagerly sought relief from her oppressive virtues and his own burdensome sense of obligation. A false charge of infidelity hurried her to the scaffold ; and the pathetic circumstances attendant upon her undeserved fate—her meek yet noble bearing—her unshaken avowals of innocence even under the agonies of the rack, and in the teeth of a confession extorted by similar terrors from the wretched youth Michaelè Orombelli, with whom it was attempted to criminate her—her dignified, yet not bitter upbraidings of his weakness—and her firm reliance that Heaven, though now pressing sorely on her in its visitation, would hereafter rescue her memory from dishonour—might be turned to good account, from the pages in which Andrea Billio* has recorded them, by any future poet who may venture once again to dramatize the parallel sad tale of Smeaton and our own Anna Boleyn.

Filippo-Maria by no means dissembled that it was his intention to attempt the recovery of his entire hereditary dominions, and in the event of his success, Venice, among other powers, must prepare for restitution. Of all those governments which had regarded the progress of Visconti with jealousy, and combated it with vigour, none continued more forward in demonstrations of vigilance and opposition than Florence ; and in their common danger she earnestly solicited the accession of Venice to a general league of northern Italy against the overweening ambition of Milan. It is not often that history, before the invention of the art of printing, affords documents so precise as those with which this transaction may be illustrated ; for Sanuto, an author of high rank and of indisputable veracity, who wrote within fifty years of the event, has presented us with

* *Hist. Mediol.* III. 51, *apud* Murat. XIX.

a transcript of the very speeches delivered by the Doge Moncenigo in the debates relating to this Florentine negotiation. They are copies, as the chronicle assures us, from the original MS. communicated by the doge himself; and they must be received therefore, not as representing such arguments as the historian imagined *might* have been employed, but those which really and absolutely fell from the mouth of the speaker. The great advocate in the Venetian council for this alliance, and for war against Milan, was Francesco Foscari, one of the *procuratori*; a sage whose wisdom was matured by the experience of fifty winters, yet whom Moncenigo nevertheless addresses throughout as "youthful *procuratore*!" He presses him by arguments from a most extensive range of history both sacred and profane, not always, it must be confessed indeed, drawn with very strict logical precision. "God," he says, as the substance of his speech may be paraphrased, "created the angels and gifted them with free-will, but unhappily they chose evil instead of good, and therefore they fell; even so have the Florentines fallen by preferring war to peace, and so shall *we* also fall if we imitate their example. God created Adam wise, good, and perfect, and it was by disobedience that he lost Paradise; the Florentines have done in like manner, and even so shall *we* do also if we permit ourselves to be seduced by the youthful *procuratore*. As in the deluge all men except the just Noah and his family were drowned, so will the Florentines be obliged to take refuge in our ark from the destruction which they are calling down upon themselves. As after the deluge the race of giants, forgetting the fear of God, had their single tongue split into sixty-six languages, and in the end separated from each other and disappeared for ever, so will the Florentine language give place to sixty-six dialects, and the inhabitants of that city will be scattered widely over the earth. It was peace which constituted the magnificence of Troy, swelled her population, increased her palaces, multiplied her treasures, enhanced her arts, and strengthened her with powerful throngs of chiefs, *knights*, and *barons*; war, on the other hand, was her destruction, as war will be the destruction of Florence. It was the idolatry of Solomon and the apostacy of Rehoboam which gave birth to the schism of the Ten Tribes: even so," continues the orator,—although

here the thread of his argument is too finely spun to be retained by our grasp—"the towns now ruled by Florence will be transferred to Milan. Rome, thanks to her government and to *peace*, became great and powerful"—an assertion which either betrays on the part of the doge no small unacquaintance with the state-craft of the eternal city, or else exhibits no slight dexterity in appropriating to his purpose a very stubborn and inapplicable argument. "The first Punic war, but for Scipio, would have occasioned her overthrow, and her succeeding restlessness and ambition subjected her to the tyranny of Cæsar; so Florence, by her love of war, is preparing for herself a military despotism." After these and many similar reasonings, expanded far beyond the compressed form in which they appear above, we are presented with a very singular and important tabular view of Lombardo-Venetian commerce, in which the exports and imports from the *Lagune* are valued at the great annual sum of 28,800,000 ducats.* Well might Moncenigo ask, "Think you not this a very pretty garden for Venice, youthful *procuratore*?" The Florentines however, in a new embassy, sought arguments from the doge's own school, and employed them with equal precision of application. "If Venice," they said, "did not come to their succour, they must act like Samson, who uprooted a column, in order that by destroying Dagon's temple he might overwhelm his enemies together with himself." In spite of this representation the pacific counsels of the doge prevailed, and while his life continued the league was deferred, and a treaty of ten years' alliance confirmed with Visconti. Moncenigo, finding his end approaching, assembled the chief senators round his sick bed, and having once more renewed his exhortations for the careful avoidance of rash and hasty measures which might embroil the state in a ruinous war, he ran over to them the characters of those nobles who might probably be candidates for the succession after his death; and having commended most of them for virtue and ability, he concluded by adding, that "those who may propose to you Francesco Foscari cannot have deliberated pro-

* The agreeable writer of the *History of Italy*, under the name of George Perceval, calculates the current ducat of that time at 3s. 6d.; the golden ducat (of which Venice coined a million annually) at 14s.; and money at about six times its present value.—(If. 74.)

foundly on their intention. God preserve you from such a choice ! for if it be made, you will have war : then those who have 10,000 ducats will be reduced to 1000, those who have ten houses will retain but one, and every thing also will be diminished in similar proportion. Reputation, credit, property will be at an end ; and instead of remaining masters of your hired soldiers, you will find yourselves reduced to be their slaves."

Moncenigo died in the spring of 1423, at the advanced age of eighty. He was well versed in the commercial and maritime affairs of his country, and he advanced them to unexampled prosperity. A census taken under his reign fixed the population of the capital at 190,000 souls ; and the embellishment of his great metropolis was a favourite object with this wise prince. By him was laid the foundation of the library of St. Mark, to the construction of which he apportioned 4000 ducats yearly from the duties on salt ; but the work was often interrupted, and not renewed with activity till a century after his death. If we hesitate respecting his claim to eloquence, we must willingly concede to him the praise of sound discretion ; and of his singular firmness of purpose and disinterestedness a very remarkable instance remains to be produced. An accidental fire having destroyed great part of St. Mark's, injured much also of the ancient ducal palace ; yet the *avvogadori*, ever anxious to depress the majesty of the prince, while they proceeded to the immediate restoration of the cathedral, procured a decree, rendering it highly penal for any one to suggest the rebuilding of the palace ; and affixing a fine of 1000 ducats to the bare advancement of such a proposal. Moncenigo, at one of the meetings of the senate, poured the stipulated fine on the council table, and having purchased full liberty of speech at that lavish price, he persisted in urging upon the nobles the necessity of lodging their chief magistrate in an edifice becoming the dignity of the republic, till he obtained their assent to the commencement of that pile which contributes so largely, at the present hour, to the magnificence of Venetian architecture.

After a deliberation of six days, in the course of which nine scrutinies occurred, FRANCESCO FOSCARI, the very *procuratore* whom Moncenigo had denounced, was elected doge, by dint of gold ; and the ascend-

A. D.
1423.

ency of the war faction was thus established. When he was about to be announced to the populace in the hitherto customary form, "We have chosen Francesco Foscari doge, if such be your pleasure," the grand chancellor somewhat naïvely inquired, "And if the people were to say 'No,' what would you do?" This question suggested a danger which it was thought politic to avoid, and accordingly the election was notified to the assembled commons, for the first time, in these words, "We have chosen Francesco Foscari doge;" a formula which henceforward prevailed in all subsequent accessions, and which swept away the single remaining memorial of the original popular privileges.*

The opening of Foscari's reign was unpropitious, for the plague reappeared in December, and carried off full 16,000 souls; and now for the first time, notwithstanding the often repeated visitations which we have had occasion to notice, and the mortality consequent upon them, were public measures adopted to prevent the recurrence of a like fearful calamity. The rudiments of the health-office and the foundation of the *lazaretto vecchio*, on the island still devoted to the same important use, are attributed to this period. Five years of alliance still remained unexpired between Milan and Venice, yet Florence was unceasing in her efforts to produce a rupture of the treaty. In the field, she had been everywhere unfortunate, and defeat rapidly succeeding defeat rendered foreign aid indispensable if she hoped to preserve a shadow of independence. But the very necessities which increased her urgency diminished the value of her alliance; and when her ambassadors, admitted by the senate to their third audience, declaimed against the ambition of Visconti, and impressed upon the Venetians that *their* liberty would not long survive the overthrow of Florence, the council, notwithstanding the avowed tendency of Foscari's wishes, lent but a cold ear to their entreaties. The counter declarations of the Duke of Milan, whose envoys vaunted the constant amity which their master had exhibited towards the republic, and the moderation, justice, and pacific temper which he had manifested by his cession of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, all indisputably ancient possessions of his house, were not likely to be received by

* *Sanuto apud Murat*, xxii. 967.

the senate as altogether true ; but it was impossible to deny the soundness of that principle which recommended them not to seek by injustice a security which they already possessed, which had never been violated, and which war was far less likely to guaranty than peace. To these powerful arguments neither the Florentines nor the doge, who espoused their cause, could offer any satisfactory reply ; and this mission, like those which preceded it, would probably have been unavailing, but for the unexpected influence obtained and exercised at the moment by a foreigner, now a disgraced fugitive from Milan, and once a formidable enemy to Florence.

The later princes of the house of Visconti, however successful in war, exhibited but little military enterprise in their own persons ; and they were indebted for victory far more to their prudent choice of commanders than to any skill or prowess of their own. Necessity, however, at the moment of Facimo Cane's death, had compelled Filippo-Maria to appear at the head of his troops ; and in a rencounter under the walls of Monza, during that short critical period in which his fortunes were wavering in the balance, he had noted with especial admiration the distinguished gallantry of one of his followers. Francesco Buffo, the son of a peasant at Carmagnuola, dashed forward from the ranks in which he served as a private ; and closely pursuing Hector Visconti (the shadow whom the antagonists of Filippo-Maria opposed to him), but for a stumble of his horse, would have captured the flying prince, in spite of the resistance of a numerous suite by which he was protected. Filippo praised and rewarded the service on the spot, and fresh instances of valour led rapidly to fresh promotions. Placed at length at the head of the Milanese armies, Carmagnuola fully justified the high confidence reposed in him ; and in a brilliant career of eight years of uninterrupted glory, he won for his hitherto not ungrateful master twenty rich cities in that strong district of Lombardy which is bounded by the Adda, the Tesino, and the Alps. Genoa also, and even the difficult passages of St. Gothard, submitted to him ; and he carried victory on the sword's point from the frontiers of Piedmont to those of the Territory of the Church. Wealth, station, favour, and patronage for awhile were lavished on the hero ; he was created Count of Castelnuevo ;

he received the hand of a natural daughter of his prince; and this connexion with the reigning family was still more closely cemented by a formal adoption, and by his investiture with its name as Francesco Carmagnuola de' Visconti.

But it is easy for the favourite of a jealous and despotical master to perform services which awaken suspicion instead of gratitude; and Carmagnuola was already too rich, too brave, too powerful, and too fortunate for his own safety. Whether the capricious attachment of Visconti was satiated, and required change; whether the possessor of his favour abused it by importunity; or whether those whom the elevation of Carmagnuola had depressed, discovered a fitting season to undermine him, cannot now be affirmed with certainty: but most probably all three causes were in some degree united in giving birth to the coldness with which Filippo began to regard him, and afterward in rapidly increasing this coldness to disgust. Numerous petty slights, and breaches of faith as well as of courtesy, testified this change. An important command, already promised to Carmagnuola, was bestowed, without explanation, upon another and a much inferior officer; the troops most attached to his person were sedulously withdrawn from him; and his remonstrances were received with haughty and contemptuous silence. Irritated by these marked and repeated affronts, Carmagnuola repaired hastily to the palace, and demanded a special audience; but he was stopped in the antechamber by some frivolous pretexts of the duke's engagements, and he there terminated an angry scene of expostulation by open reproach and menace. Perceiving that his fall was determined, he instantly took horse, and, throwing up all his employments, rode at full speed to the frontiers of Savoy, and sought protection from Amadeus VIII., the first duke of that province, to whom he was by birth a vassal. Having revealed to that wise prince enough of the ambitious designs of Visconti to excite apprehension and awaken a hostile feeling, Carmagnuola passed on through Trent and Treviso to Venice, where he was received by Foscari with open arms, and immediately engaged with three hundred lances in the service of the republic. No pains were spared by him to kindle the smoldering flames of war; but the senate, although glad of securing a commander of so high distinction and ability, still warily hesitated to bestow full

confidence on his representations. His rupture with Visconti might after all be only simulated, in order that, availing himself of pretended disgrace, he might become acquainted with the secret councils of doubtful friends. Such treachery was far from being unprecedented, and unhappily too much characterized the policy of Milan. Even when the enraged duke proceeded to confiscate the fugitive's property, and sequestered a rental of forty thousand florins, the conviction of the signory as to the sincerity of Carmagnuola was still incomplete : nor was it till an attempt upon his life by poison was traced, by evidence not to be impugned, to the agency of Filippo-Maria, that implicit credence was given to the truth of that prince's hatred against his former favourite.

It was at this moment that the Florentines made their last appeal ; and Foscari, perceiving the backwardness of the council to second his own eager desire for war, dexterously employed to his purpose the strong feeling which Carmagnuola's recent escape from assassination had excited. At the close of the debate, he asked permission to introduce his injured friend to the senate, in order that they might profit by his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Milan. Carmagnuola was accordingly admitted to the council-chamber ; and there, the vivid picture which he drew of his own personal wrongs, the warmth which the frank spirit of the soldier infused into the pleadings of the orator, and the bold and abrupt eloquence which vented itself in denunciations of vengeance and predictions of victory, so far gained upon the kindled passions of his auditors, that when they proceeded to ballot, a large majority decided for war. A treaty therefore was speedily concluded with Florence, by which the two republics engaged to furnish, at their joint expense, 16,000 horse and half as many foot : a Venetian fleet was to ascend the Po, while the Florentines equipped a maritime expedition against Genoa : the Apennines were to form the boundary line in a division of conquests, and neither party was to conclude a separate peace. The Marquis of Ferrara, the Lord of Mantua, the King of Arragon, the Duke of Savoy, and the citizens of Sienna were admitted to this league, which was signed on the 27th of January, when Carmagnuola was declared captain-general of the army of Venice.

A. D.
1426.

In the following March Carmagnuola opened the campaign by a bold attempt on Brescia, a city which had been wrested from the Princes Della Scala by Galeazzo Visconti, had been occupied during the minority of his son by the Malatesti of Rimini, and had latterly been won back for Filippo-Maria by Carmagnuola himself. Few places were more distracted by internal schism, and the partisans of the ancient Guelph and Ghibelline factions respectively occupied distinct quarters of the city. Carmagnuola still maintained an intimate connexion with the last-named party, and it was chiefly through their assistance that he now hoped to compass his enterprise. In order to understand his operations, it should be borne in mind that Brescia, far from presenting a single line of walls, might in truth be more properly described as composed of many separate fortresses.* Three several ramparts, at considerable intervals from each other, encompassed a hill, and all of these were in possession of the Milanese faction. It was into another quarter, on the plain, that Carmagnuola was secretly admitted in the night of the 17th of March, and even then the gate which communicated with the upper town remained in the hands of his enemies. The rapidity of this movement took Visconti by surprise, and his troops were but assembling in Romagna when he received intelligence of his disaster; to remedy which he put in motion such masses of cavalry as were already concentrated, under four of the most distinguished *condottieri* of the age, Angelo della Pergola, Nicolo Piccinino, Guido Torello, and Francesco Sforza. The short time, however, which Carmagnuola had gained in advance was actively and most effectually employed; and in order both to protect his own position from the sallies of the garrison, and also to prevent the relief of the city by the army, which he doubted not would soon attempt to raise the siege, he commenced and completed, notwithstanding an interruption by illness which compelled him to have recourse to the baths of Padua, a military work which writers of the time describe as unparalleled in the history of war. Between those portions of the city which still held out and that occupied by himself, he traced a strong line of contravallation,

* The site of Brescia is very clearly described by Poggio Bracciolini, *Hist. Florent.* v. *apud* Murat. xix. 340.

and in his rear a similar circumvallation. The circuit of the outer work was not less than five miles in length; each line presented a breastwork surmounted by wooden towers at frequent intervals, and strengthened by a ditch twelve feet deep and twenty broad. Whether from the difficulty of combining their scattered forces, or from the mutual jealousy which almost invariably accompanies a divided command, the Milanese captains were slow in advance; and when towards the middle of May they encamped with 15,000 men within sight of Brescia, the works of Carmagnuola (whose numbers were almost of the same amount) although not yet finished, presented a face which Della Pergola thought much too formidable to be attacked. So stupendous, indeed, were these lines considered, that an officer of the Milanese army, upon hearing that they were projected, expressed his joy at the design. "Nothing," he said, "was more to be desired in an enemy than an attempt so extravagant and insane; to execute which must not only exceed the wealth and power of Venice, but would exhaust even the immeasurable resources which fable had attributed to Xerxes."

If the strength of Carmagnuola's lines deterred the Milanese when they first reconnoitred them, every hour contributed to increase the difficulty of assault, and, when finished, they were really impregnable. While the generals of Visconti wasted their time in unworthy dissensions, and their forces in unconnected skirmishes, or straggling, predatory excursions, Carmagnuola vigorously pressed the garrison, now hopeless of relief, and suffering from famine. Out of 1400 men, of which it was originally composed, scarcely 400 now remained fit for service; yet these defended their several fortifications foot by foot; and it was not till after a close siege of eight months, during which they were exposed day and night to a destructive artillery and to almost hourly assaults, that, driven within their last shattered rampart, they capitulated on the 20th of November, with the fullest honours of war; and marched out from the citadel amid general expressions of respect and admiration, even from their conquerors.

The loss of Brescia was the chief disaster which Visconti suffered during this short campaign. The Venetian flotilla, indeed, had mounted the Po to Cremona, the bridge of which

it had destroyed, and afterward had insulted Pavia itself; but the Milanese army was unimpaired, for it had not yet been engaged. Its conduct, however, had been unsatisfactory, and the condition of the duchy was not without hazard. The sole ally whom Filippo-Maria retained in Italy was Pope Martin V., a prince scarcely less ambitious than himself, and who saw in the zeal which it suited the Duke of Milan to profess for the church bright hopes of that increase of ecclesiastical power which chiefly occupied his own thoughts. By the mediation of that pontiff a peace

A. D. 1426. was concluded, for the attainment of which Visconti was content to abandon to Venice his claim upon Brescia, and much of its surrounding district; and to the Duke of Savoy a few unimportant forts upon which he had seized. Carmagnuola was not forgotten in this negotiation; and one express condition of the treaty stipulated that his family should be released from the imprisonment to which they had been consigned on his flight from Milan. As a further testimony of the gratitude of Venice, his name was enrolled in her Golden Book.

The announcement of this peace, so dishonourable to their country, was received with deep murmurs by the Milanese nobles, and they remonstrated in energetic terms with Filippo-Maria against its ratification. They implored him to rely upon the valour and fidelity which they swore to dedicate to his service, to accept the sacrifices which they were prepared to make in his support, and to appoint captains over the 10,000 horse, and an equal number of infantry, which they engaged to raise and maintain at their own expense, provided only that he would intrust the revenue to their administration. The duke accepted their offers; but, jealous of any invasion of his despotism by an exercise, however trifling, of aristocratical influence, he refused the conditions with which they were accompanied. In order yet further to recruit his army, while the Venetians, as yet unsuspicious of his intentions, disbanded their *condottieri*, he carefully engaged them himself, and swelled his ranks by the careless facility with which mercenaries, if they do but receive full security for pay, are content to pass from one service to another the most directly opposite.

A. D. 1427. Thus strengthened, he eluded, under various pretexts, the evacuation of the posts which he had

agreed to surrender, and early in the following spring invaded the territory of Mantua.

It would afford little entertainment if we were to pursue with minuteness the events of the renewed war. The state of Carmagnuola's health, apparently never strong, and now more than usually affected by a fall from his horse, prevented him from assuming the command immediately on this aggression; and the Milanese in consequence obtained some advantages, notwithstanding that their flotilla on the Po, after two days' bloody combat near Cremona, was totally destroyed. When Carmagnuola rejoined the army, fortune for a short time continued to vary; Casal Maggiore was taken and retaken, and its recovery enabled the Venetians to advance upon Cremona, with the intention of engaging in its siege. The Milanese, equally prepared to oppose this design, were reinforced by 15,000 volunteers from their capital; and Filippo-Maria for the first time encouraged his army by his presence. The hostile forces were encamped opposite each other at Casal Secco, about three miles in front of Cremona, and a natural fosse which separated their lines was for some time a barrier which neither of them cared to pass. On the 12th of July, however, the Milanese, eager for distinction under the immediate eye of their prince, attempted to force that defence, and some squadrons succeeded in penetrating the Venetian camp. There, enveloped in clouds of summer dust, the cavalry charged at hazard, without the power of distinguishing either their own movements or those of their enemy. The confusion became general, and, had they been duly seized, opportunities occurred on both sides of capturing most of the leading officers of the opposite party. Carmagnuola was dismounted, and fought for a considerable time on foot; the Duke of Mantua was separated from his followers, and surrounded by enemies; and Sforza found himself in like manner abandoned by his suite, and left in the very heart of the Venetian camp. The affray, for it was no other, terminated indecisively, and without further advantage to either side than such as the Venetians might claim from the retirement of the Milanese to their own lines. Filippo-Maria had seen enough of war, and hastened back to Milan.

The dissensions existing among his generals induced the Duke of Milan at this season to intrust the chief com-

mand of his army to one whose high lineage would, as he imagined, ensure implicit obedience ; and Carlo Malatesta, son of the Lord of Rimini, made his first essay in arms at the close of this campaign. From a very natural anxiety to create a reputation commensurate with that of the great leaders who served under him, he was impatient for battle, and soon hazarded a rash and ill-advised engagement. Carmagnuola early in October was advantageously posted among the Cremonese marshes, not far from the town of Macalo. His ground was well chosen ; he had personally reconnoitred every point of it ; and he had omitted no care to defend its only practicable approach by directing upon it the cross fire of numerous masked batteries ; every firmer spot also which he found tenable amid the fenny ground was occupied by troops placed in ambuscade behind whatever cover it afforded ; and the main body of his infantry fronted a long, winding, narrow, and intricate causeway, by which, if the Milanese intended to attack, they must of necessity advance ; and which, therefore, was left apparently unguarded, in order to allure them. Two thousand horse, meanwhile, were detached to turn the morass, with orders, if an engagement should ensue, to fall upon the enemy's rear. In opposition, as it is said, to the opinion and judgment of each of the four chief *condottieri*, to control whose mutual jealousy Malatesta had been commissioned, he determined to force this perilous causeway. Scarcely, however, had his columns become entangled on its path, Oct. 11. before they were assailed on both flanks by unexpected volleys of every species of missile. The narrow space forbade them from attempting any change of front, and even if this could have been effected, their enemy was concealed and separated from them by impassable bogs. While, therefore, confused and wavering, they knew not whether to advance or to retreat, Carmagnuola, seizing the favourable moment, made a signal for his cavalry to charge in rear, and himself advanced upon the causeway in front. All was now rout and panic. Guido Torello, accompanied by his son, plunged into the marshes, and escaped ; Sforza, who commanded the reserve, had the good fortune to regain his camp ; Piccinino, with almost incredible bravery, cut his way through the very front of his enemy ; but Malatesta himself, after an almost bloodless contest (for it has been

stated that not one man of his division was killed), surrendered, with all his standards, baggage, stores, and treasures, and more than 8000 prisoners.

The campaign might now be considered at an end, for the great numerical advantage which Carmagnuola obtained by this decisive victory forbade the Milanese from any hope of renewing further operations at present. But Venice had yet to learn the dangers and disadvantages connected with the employment of foreign mercenaries. Indifferent to the result of the quarrel which he is purchased to support, the hired stranger chiefly regards his plunder and his pay, and personal safety is far more his object than success; for against him whose trade is war the market would be closed by uninterrupted conquest. The strong motives supplied by ancient rivalry and national pride, by patriotism and a thirst for glory, are wholly wanting to the adventurer who draws his sword for gain; and, on the other hand, if he be opposed in battle to soldiers of the same class with himself, there may exist numerous ties between them resulting from similarity of habits; they may have served together as comrades in some former war, and may have then contracted rude but enduring bonds of military friendship, by which they are far more likely to be influenced than by any regard for the interests of the particular state to which they are pledged, only for the moment, by a cold and heartless bargain. Such on this occasion was the position of the victors towards the vanquished; and, far from being actuated by any animosity, they cherished a community of feeling and a sense of brotherhood in arms with those whom nothing except chance happened to range under conflicting standards. Many of them recognised their captives as former intimates; all had at some time served under Carmagnuola, when he commanded for Milan; and it was not possible that men so circumstanced should long retain even an appearance of hostility. Accordingly, in the course of the night which succeeded this engagement the victorious army released almost all its prisoners, reserving only their horses, arms, and other booty. On the morrow, when the *provveditori* discovered the unexpected abandonment of the chief and most important fruits of their success in the field, they remonstrated loudly and earnestly with Carmagnuola. No sooner, however, had they retired, than the general, partaking of the same spirit which actuated his followers, and

pretending ignorance on a point with which he was fully acquainted, inquired what number of prisoners still remained unreleased? He was answered about four hundred: "Well then," he concluded, "if the kindness of my soldiers has given liberty to the others, I must follow the ordinary custom, and dismiss these also."*

Malatesta and his liberated troops returned to their camp, and the Milanese army in a few days presented numbers equally formidable with those which it had counted before its late defeat. Two armourers of the capital offered to furnish sufficient fresh equipments to the soldiers, and money was plentifully at hand for the purchase of horses. The power of Filippo-Maria, therefore, was still unbroken; and when Carmagnuola, although strongly urged by the *provveditori*, refused to advance upon Milan, from which he was scarcely three days' march, the brilliant hopes which had been founded upon his victory were speedily dissipated, and the campaign shortly afterward closed by his occupation of some few unimportant posts on the Oglio.

This war, however short, had wearied all parties engaged in it excepting the Venetians, whose appetite for continental acquisition was hourly increasing; but pressed by their allies to negotiate, they were compelled to assent, A. D. 1428. Peace was signed in the spring of 1428, and the signory, far from manifesting any chagrin or resentment at the ambiguous conduct of Carmagnuola, received him with distinguished honours on his return to the capital; the Bucentaur was despatched for his conveyance, and he was conducted with much splendour to a palace bestowed upon him as a national gift: 3000 ducats were added to his pension from the public coffers, and a land rent of 12,000 more from estates in the provinces which he had conquered. Not many days after his arrival, attended by his staff and the chief officers of government, he solemnly deposited in St. Mark's, amid the trophies of his victories, the standard of the republic, which had been committed to him at the opening of the late war. Little now appeared wanting to his prosperity. Fortune at length seemed to have renewed her former kindness, and he reposed confidently under the favour and protection of his adopted country.

* *Ego, si ceteris nostrorum benevolentia ea fortuna contigiti, atas quoque jubea soluta lege dimitti.*—Andrea Bilius, vi. apud Murat. xix. 104.

Peace however was but of short duration; old jealousies were revived, and fresh causes of dissension readily arose between parties which had never been cordially reconciled. Hostilities were accordingly renewed by all the powers which had coalesced in the former alliance, A. D. 1431. except the Duke of Savoy; and Carmagnuola once more took the command, with orders to invest Cremona, while Piccinino and Sforza were again his opponents. His outset was unfortunate; some officers of the enemy whom he endeavoured to corrupt betrayed him in turn, and he was entrapped into an ambuscade, from which he personally escaped not without much difficulty and with the loss of 1600 prisoners. These, probably, were restored to him, after the fashion of Macale; for within two days he advanced towards the Po with 12,000 horse and as many foot, and prepared to combine his operations with a flotilla, which awaited this junction about three miles below Cremona. The Venetian armament, commanded by Nicolo Trevisani, consisted of thirty-seven large ships and above one hundred small craft; to oppose which the Duke of Milan had prepared a powerful force of vessels, inferior in size but far superior in number, under the orders of Paolino Eustachio.

Meantime Piccinino and Sforza made a demonstration in front of Carmagnuola's lines, and by that feint withdrew him from the bank of the river. Pains were taken on the following night to deceive him by false intelligence; and so convinced was he that dispositions had been made to attack him in the morning, that he peremptorily refused the earnest application made by Trevisani for a reinforcement, and pleaded that his own position was far too critical to allow him to detach any portion of his army. Sforza, having succeeded in this stratagem, threw himself, during the same night, with a large body of picked men, May 23. into Eustachio's ships; and at the dawn of day, when Carmagnuola displayed his line and awaited battle, no force confronted him except a few light troops, which, as he advanced, fell back upon their main body, now sheltered under the guns of Cremona.

Too late discovering his error, Carmagnuola hastened back to the Po, in order to render that assistance to Trevisani which he now perceived to be so needful. But the

flotillas were already engaged, and the Milanese, before commencing their attack, having cautiously dropped down on the left bank of the river, had succeeded in cutting off all communication between the land-force of the Venetians and their ships, which had been driven to the opposite shore. The battle raged with unwonted fury, for the confined tract within which the combatants were pent was more fitted for a display of personal strength and valour than of nautical skill. The vessels grappled with each other, and their crews, fighting as on one continued platform, with little employment of their artillery, pressed on, hand to hand, by boarding; a mode of attack in which the iron-clad soldiers by whom the Milanese galleys were principally manned, possessed incalculable advantage over the exposed and lightly armed Venetian mariners. Carmagnola, meantime, forced to remain an inactive spectator on his own bank, within speaking distance of his comrades, yet wholly unable to employ for their assistance those overwhelming numbers with which he lined the river,* had the mortification of seeing ship after ship submit to the enemy. Trevisani and many of his captains took to their boats and escaped; twenty-eight galleys, including that of the admiral himself, and forty-two transports, were captured; three thousand men were killed; an immense booty (among which Billius mentions so large a store of Cretan wine as enriched all the Paduan cities) fell into the hands of the enemy, and the loss to Venice, thus signally worsted on her own peculiar element, was estimated at sixty thousand florins.

A period of inaction on both sides, for which it is by no means easy to account, succeeded this great disaster. The generals of Filippo-Maria contented themselves with ravaging the territories of Montserrat; and Carmagnola, as if palsied or stupified, made no attempt to redeem his tarnished honour. Even when victory seemed to proffer herself to his embrace, he slighted the invitation; and dispirited by

* *Stabant orantes primi transmitters cursum,*

Tendebantque manus ripæ ulterioris amore.—ÆNEID, vi. 314.

Neither accurately nor even grammatically rendered by Dryden; although perhaps his words are more to our purpose than the original:

——— the shivering army stands,

And press for passage with extended hands.

his late reverses, dissatisfied with the service in which he was employed, deprived of earlier vigour, or perhaps (for it is impossible but that such a surmise must cross even the least suspicious mind) entangled by some intrigue with his former master, he turned away from favourable chances of success. One of his officers, in the command of a reconnoitring detachment, succeeded by a bold attempt in establishing himself on an ill-guarded part of the very rampart of Cremona, the main object of the campaign. He instantly communicated to his general the important advantage which he had secured, and gallantly maintained his conquest for two days. Nevertheless Carmagnuola refused to traverse the short space which separated him from the city; raised a thousand pretexts against such a movement; urged the probability of stratagem on the part of the enemy; and finally, almost under his own eyes, and when the fall of Cremona seemed but to depend upon a single word, permitted the handful of brave men who had won for him this golden opportunity to be overwhelmed and cut to pieces.

Little more than this last great failure in duty was wanting to seal the fate of Carmagnuola, and that little was soon afterward supplied by his permitting the enemy to occupy some advantageous posts on the very borders of the *Lagune*, which he might easily have maintained. Even if the senate absolved him from any charge of treachery, to which he had but too obviously exposed himself, he had ceased to conquer, and his removal therefore was most desirable. The course which they adopted was in all points consistent with their ordinary dark policy, and it is well explained by Machiavelli. "Perceiving that Carmagnuola," says the acute author of the *Princeps*, "had become cold in their service, they yet neither wished nor dared to dismiss him, from a fear of losing that which he had acquired for them: *for their own security, therefore, they were compelled to put him to death.*"* Yet it may be believed, that however unscrupulous in their state craft were the rulers of Venice, they were, in this instance, actuated by more powerful motives than those of long-sighted precaution; and that they inflicted punishment for offences

* *Cap. xii.*

already committed, as well as guarded against the possibility of future commission. The conduct of their general had long been an object of discussion, for it is recorded, that while residing in Venice, during the short interval of peace, and laden daily with new honours, as he one morning attended the levee in the ducal palace, he found the prince but just returning from a council which had sat in debate all night. "Shall I offer good morrow or good even?" was the sportive and unsuspecting inquiry of the soldier. "Our consultation has been indeed protracted," replied the doge with a gracious smile, "and nothing has more frequently occurred in it than the mention of your name." Then, as if recollecting that he had outstepped the bounds of caution, he artfully diverted the conversation to other topics. It is not possible to reject the great mass of concurrent testimony which assures us that the precise measures which the government ultimately adopted were decided upon fully eight months before their execution; and it appears a matter of no small pride, not only to the pensioned historian Sabellico, but even to the exalted and independent spirit of Paolo Sarpi, that although the secret resolution was well known during that long period, to at least three hundred persons, who had themselves assisted in framing it,—many of them intimately and familiarly acquainted with their intended victim, some oppressed by poverty which they might have exchanged for immediate affluence by a disclosure,—yet not one whisper was breathed from a single lip which could, in the slightest degree, compromise the mysterious design of the senate.* The fact perhaps speaks quite as strongly for the terror inspired by the Venetian government as for the fidelity of its agents.

The senate concealed their determination till the blow could be struck without a chance of failure; and it
 A. D. 1432. was not until the following spring that Carmagnuola received a summons to Venice, under pretexts of high respect and consideration which might have deceived the most veteran intriguer. Sanuto, indeed, may perhaps seem to imply, and if he does so it is with the most unflinching gravity, that some misgiving might have crossed the general's mind if he had paid due attention to the ill-

* Sabellico, *Dec.* iii. 1. P. Justiniani, vii. P. Sarpi, *Opinione tescente al Governo della Rep. Ven.* 32.

favoured countenance of the pale and cadaverous secretary of the chancellor who bore the message :* but, with this one equivocal exception, no pains were spared to lull suspicion. Negotiations for peace were stated to have commenced, ambassadors from the chief belligerents were assembled at Piacenza, and it was to assist the great council in its deliberations upon the proposals submitted to it, that the presence of Carmagnuola was required in the capital. Every precaution which the Council of Ten adopted in order to secure his person, from the first moment after he left the camp, was so astutely contrived, that he received it with satisfaction as a token of more than ordinary respect ; and although he remarked the unusual caresses which were lavished on him, probably he did not feel, certainly he did not express, any suspicion as to the motives in which they originated.† The Lord of Mantua never quitted his side ; on setting foot in the territory of Vicenza, the commandant met him at the head of a considerable body of troops, and escorted him to the opposite frontier ; a like guard of honour, as he believed it to be, awaited him at Padua ; where the governor, Contarini, insisted that he should partake his bed, a compliment agreeable to the manners of the times, and, in this instance, well answering the double purpose for which it was designed. When he embarked on the *Lagune*, to the borders of which Contarini attended him, he found in waiting the *Signori di Notte* (certain police magistrates) with their officers ; and at the entrance of the capital, eight nobles, who were posted to receive him, entreated that, instead of proceeding immediately to his own palace, he would accompany them, in the first instance, to that of the doge. On entering the prince's mansion, its gates were closed, all strangers were excluded, and the count's suite was dismissed, with an intimation that their master was to be entertained with a banquet by the Doge Foscari. While Carmagnuola, awaiting his audience, remained in conversation with the members of the *Collegio*, the doge excused himself till the following morning, on a

* Fu mandato Giovanni d'Impero, Notaio della Cancelleria, il quale ora di faccia pallido morto.—Sanuto, ap. Murat. xxii. 1027.

† Onde al detto Conte molto parve ciò nuovo, essendogli fatte tante carezze oltre quello che solea essergli fatto quando dell'altre volte veniva a Venezia. Ma pure non disse alcuna cosa.—Sanuto, ap. Murat, xxii. 1027.

plea of indisposition. As it grew later, the unsuspecting prisoner took his leave, and the attendant nobles, seemingly in order to pay yet further respect to their illustrious visiter, accompanied him to the palace court. There, as he took the ordinary path to the gates, one of them requested him to pass over to the other side, towards the prisons: "That is not my way," was his remark; and he was significantly answered, "It is your way!" As he crossed the threshold of the dungeon, the fatal truth flashed upon him, and he exclaimed, with a deep sigh, "I see well enough that I am a dead man;" and, in reply to some consolation offered by his companions, he added words fully expressive of his conviction that life was forfeited.* For three days he refused all sustenance. At their expiration, when he was led, by night, to the chamber of torture, and stripped for the question, an arm, formerly broken by a wound received in the service of his judges, prevented the executioners from lifting him to the height requisite to give full effect to the inhuman application of the strappado. His feet, therefore, were brought to the stoves; and it was reported that ample confession of treachery was speedily wrung from him by the acuteness of his sufferings, and confirmed by the production of letters under his own hand, and by the testimony of agents whom he had employed. But the mysteries of the Council of Ten were impenetrable; and all that can be stated with certainty of his trial, if such it may be called, are the terms of his accusation; namely, that he was in compact with Filippo-Maria to refuse assistance to Trevisani, and not to take Cremona. He lingered in prison for nearly three weeks after this examination, and was then conducted, after vespers, on the 5th of May, to the Two Columns. Either to prevent him from exciting pity by an enumeration of his former great deeds, or from appealing against a punishment inflicted without due evidence of guilt, his mouth was carefully gagged; and Sanuto, who has minutely recorded the particulars of his last moments, thus describes the dress in which he appeared upon the scaffold: He was clad in scarlet hose, a cap of velvet from his own native town, a crimson mantle, and a scarlet vest with the

* *Vedo ben ch' io son morto . . . Uccelli che non sono da lasciare, non sono da prendere.*—Sanuto, 1028. The latter words most likely are proverbial.

sleeves tied behind his back. It was not till the third stroke that his head was severed from his body; and his remains were then buried by torch-light in the church of San Francesco della Vigna. In later days they were transferred to Sta. Maria dei Frari, where, at the descent into the cloisters, his wooden coffin was shown not many years since, perhaps may still be shown, covered with a black velvet pall, upon which was placed a scull.*

To decide upon the justice of Carmagnuola's doom, lighted only by that uncertain glimmering which the rulers of Venice permitted to be thrown upon their judicial transactions, was scarcely possible even at the time of its execution; and the attempt at the present day must be worse than hopeless. Every generous feeling of our nature is arrayed against the base and insidious artifices employed to entrap him, and the invisible processes used in his condemnation; and profound interest cannot fail to be excited by the ignominious, even if merited, death of one who had before deserved and obtained so rich a prize of glory. But it should be remembered, that in the instance of Carmagnuola, some semblance at least of civil proceeding was maintained, and that he was reserved for the sword of the law; while in after-times, another, and in this instance a less scrupulous government, despatched Wallenstein, who had equally outgrown control, by the hand of an assassin. Each of these great captains lived in the hearts of his soldiers, and the extenuating plea in each case therefore would be, that, although proscribed, he was impregnable in his own camp. It may be added that many authorities near the times of Carmagnuola, and such indeed as were uninfluenced by any fear of Venice, more than imply a belief that he had earned his fate.† In our own days his innocence has been advocated by a writer of distinguished genius; but in the tragedy of Manzoni the spirit of the drama demanded that the hero should be represented guiltless; and poets moreover are not always the most faithful asserters of veritable

* *Forestiero illuminato*, 212.

† Poggio Bracciolini represents him as *Philippi adversæ fortunæ miserius*.—(*Hist. Florent.* vi. apud Murat. xx. 351.) And again, *Ventorum mores pertæsus a fide prolapsus*.—(*Ib.* 376.)—Billius, in recounting his last campaign, states that he was believed in *ad re veteris amicitie memoriam Philippi operam præbuisse*.—(105.)

history. If, however, our Milanese contemporary has at all deviated from fact in the conception of his leading character, he has more than compensated for such an exercise of poetical privilege, by the bold, masterly, and correct portrait which he has placed before our eyes of the miseries endured by Italy during the existence of the *condottieri*. It would indeed be difficult to select any passage from the whole range of poetry in which truth is more closely intertwined with imagination, than in that magnificent chorus by which Manzoni has concluded the second act of *IL CONTE DI CARMAGNUOLA*.*

* *S' ode a destra uno squillo di tromba, &c.*

CHAPTER XII.

FROM A. D. 1432 TO A. D. 1450.

Peace of Ferrara—Rash Enterprise and Death of Marsilio da Carrara—War renewed with Milan—Origin of the Family of Sforza—Treachery of the Duke of Mantua—Brilliant Retreat of Gatta Melata—Francesco Sforza assumes the Command of the Venetian Army—Siege of Brescia—Transport of a Flotilla overland to the Lago di Garda—Battle of Tenna—Singular Escape of Piccinino—Sforza rejects Overtures from the Duke of Milan—Sforza surrounded at Martenengo—Terms unexpectedly offered by the Duke of Milan—Peace of Capriana—Marriage of Sforza with the Princess Bianca—Death of Filippo-Maria Visconti—His Character—Milan declares herself a free Republic—Engages Sforza as her General—Battle of Caravaggio—Noble Forbearance of Sforza—He makes Peace with Venice—Treachery of the Venetians—Sforza blockades Milan—Its Surrender—He assumes the Ducal Crown.

DOGE.

FRANCESCO FOSCARI.

WITHIN twelve months from the execution of Carmagnuola, the war with Milan, which had languished through another campaign, was terminated by a peace so framed as to leave ample grounds for a renewal of hostilities, whenever either party had sufficiently profited by its breathing time. Even during the short interval of apparent friendship which succeeded, Filippo-Maria found occasion to embarrass Venice; and he induced the last survivor of the ill-fated lords of Padua to make a fruitless attempt for the recovery of his patrimony, by false promises of assistance from himself, and by equally false representations of a powerful armament to be furnished in his behalf by the Veronese and Vicentines. During thirty years, Marsilio, the only remaining son of Francesco da Carrara, had escaped the consequences of his proscription by Venice, in tranquil and contented exile; and he was now allured from the safe asylum which Germany had afforded him, to be sacrificed as a victim to the intrigues of the Duke of Milan. Encour-

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aged by an assurance that his partisans within his ancient capital waited but for his appearance to proclaim him their sovereign, he set out on this rash and hazardous enterprise, disguised as a merchant, and accompanied by no more than ten followers. While on his route through the mountains of Verona, he was denounced to the Council of Ten, arrested by their agents, and conveyed to Padua. Thence, having first been exhibited in chains to the popular gaze, through the most open parts of the city, in order that his person might be fully recognised, he was transferred to Venice. No compassion was likely to await him in the slaughter-house of his father and his brothers, and, after an examination of four hours in the chamber of torture, he was adjudged to the scaffold.

The confessions of that unhappy prince and of his companions in misfortune so clearly evinced the perfidy of Filippo-Maria, that war, as a necessary result, was speedily declared against him: and the signory, anxious to engage in their service the most consummate military talent of the time, offered the command of their army to Francesco Sforza. Of that great man we have hitherto spoken only as of a brave and successful *condottiere*; but the distinguished character which he assumed in the complicated events upon which we are about to enter, and the high elevation to which he ultimately won his way as the founder of a race of princes, demand a larger notice both of his origin and his progress. His father, Giacomuzio d'Attenduli, was born at Cotignola, a petty town of Romagna, between Imolo and Faenza, of a family which has been traced to the royal blood of Dacia: and the Emperor Robert is said to have acknowledged the line of those princes in the person of Giacomuzio, at the same time at which, in reward for his distinguished courage, he gave him an honourable augmentation of his armorial bearings, and placed the orange-branch of the Attenduli in the left paw of a lion, elevating his right in an attitude of menace.* Whether this family preserved its opulence is doubted; but that agriculture was its chief employment during the early years of Giacomuzio's life is ascertained by a tradition preserved and fondly cherished by his descendants in their subse-

* Laurent. Boninocontrii, *Annal. apud Murat.* xxi. 18.

quent great prosperity. Giacomuzio, they said, even in his boyhood, felt a strong passion for arms, and, wearied by the daily and unvaried toils of husbandry to which he was condemned, he secretly resolved to abandon them for the profession which he coveted. While meditating on his future pursuits and chances, the impatient boy caught up a mattock with which he had been digging, and threw it into an oak-tree hard by; remembering, as Paulus Jovius (from whom we derive these particulars, but who does not appear to attach much credit to them) would persuade us, that the oak was consecrated to the god of war, and therefore was well fitted to afford a *martial* augury. If the mattock should fall to the ground, Giacomuzio determined to continue his rustic labours; if it should lodge in the branches, he would forthwith become a soldier. It lodged, as he doubtless wished and took good care that it should do; and, although no more than twelve years of age at the time of this divination, the young adventurer, easily satisfying himself that he was now under the special guidance of Providence, quitted his father's house clandestinely, with the intention of engaging himself to Alberic di Barbiano, the chief leader of *condottieri* at the time. "To that mattock of Giacomuzio," said his grandson, when displaying the magnificence of his palace to the historian, "do I owe all these treasures."* On his way to Alberic's quarters, the youth was forcibly detained by a soldier belonging to the commandant of the papal cavalry, from which officer he received instructions during four years.† Passing then to the service of Count Alberic, he entered in the very lowest grade, and officiated as groom and horseboy‡ to the camp: yet, even while engaged in those mean employments, his high spirit and great bodily strength won distinction among his comrades, from whom he frequently obtained by violence more than his share of booty. In a squabble upon one of those occasions, appeal was made to the commander himself, who decided against Attenduli, and, to his surprise, was met

* We give this story as we find it in the *Vita Magni Sfortia*, c. 2, by Paulus Jovius. It is told with a slight variation, for which we have not been able to trace equally good authority, both by M. de Siamond and Daru.

† Bonincontrius, 39.

‡ *I.ixa*—*succomanno*. Benvenuto di San Georgio, *Hist. Montisforti*, apud Murat. xxiii. 715.

by a bold remonstrance. "By my troth," replied Count Alberic, not displeased with the freedom of the answer, "this boy, by-and-by, will not spare ourselves. As you gain every thing by *force*, for the future you must be called *Sforza*." The name, bestowed in jest, superseded that of his family, and is the one by which both himself and his posterity are known in history.*

It is not our purpose to follow the elder Sforza minutely in his brilliant career. The fortunes of a *condottiere* depended largely upon his personal valour, and, with that quality, as well as with an active and penetrating intellect, the peasant of Cotignola was eminently gifted. In the service of Naples, he acquired not only reputation, but wealth and substantial power; and not long before his death he was invested with the high dignity of grand constable of that kingdom, ranked as a feudatory lord by the possession of rich fiefs both in the patrimony of St. Peter and of Sienna, and was created count of his native village by Pope John XXIII., as a compensation for a debt of 14,000 ducats. The free bands also which he headed were distinguished from others of their class, not less by their strict discipline than by their unlimited devotion to the chief who had raised and maintained them. They were bound to him, partly by individual attachment, which he took sedulous pains to cultivate by affability, attention to their wants, and generous largesses; and partly by the spirit of clanship, if we may so say, with which the numerous relations and connexions whom he had enlisted in his ranks were deeply imbued. The aggrandizement of their general was the main object of desire among these faithful adherents, and, with such followers at his command, scarcely any enterprise appeared too daring for the ambition of their leader. But the jealousy of a rival adventurer, Braccio di Montone, retarded the great projects which Sforza had, no doubt, long meditated; and an untimely death, before they were matured, left their completion to be achieved by his equally brave and still more fortunate son. The elder Sforza was drowned, while crossing the Pescara, in an unavailing attempt to rescue one of his pages from a similar fate. Moved by the cries of the unhappy youth, he turned his horse from a ford into deep water, where the animal lost his footing, and,

* Bonincontri, 54.

having thrown his rider, gained the land. Sforza himself, unable to swim from the oppressive weight of his armour, and too far from the bank to receive assistance, sank beneath the flood. Twice he rose to the surface, clasping his gauntleted hands as in despair, and was then swept away by the torrent, and disappeared for ever. A. D. 1424.

Francesco Sforza, at the time of that calamity, had not yet attained his four-and-twentieth year, but he had already shown much promise of great future eminence. He was the eldest, and, although illegitimate, the favourite son of his father; who diligently trained him to military exercises by his own side, and saw him, in his first essay of arms, give proofs of valour which might have done credit to a veteran captain. A. D. 1417. Soon afterward, he espoused one of the richest widows in Italy, Polissena Ruffa, a daughter of the Count of Montalto, who brought that town and other large possessions in Calabria as her dower. The three precepts which the youthful bridegroom received from his father, when he quitted the paternal roof to enter upon his own lordships, were, 1st, To treat his vassals with gentleness; 2dly, Never to strike a domestic, or, if he did so, immediately afterward to dismiss him; and lastly, almost as if with some foresight of the destiny which awaited himself, never to mount a restiff horse, and on all occasions to look particularly to his shoes; "from casting which," said the experienced soldier, "I have more than once been sorely perilled in the field."*

No situation could require greater promptitude and sounder judgment than that in which Francesco Sforza stood at the moment of his father's death. His free troops were not only the most important portion of his heritage, but they were, indeed, its sole guarantee; for through them alone could he hope to prevent the resumption of the fiefs held under the Neapolitan crown by the court which had bestowed them far more in expectation of future services than as a reward for the past. Yet the charm which bound together and restrained the fierce, rude, and licentious spirits composing his army, was broken and dissolved with the last breath of his deceased father; and indeed, not long before the elder Sforza's death, some symptoms of dis-

* Paulus Jovius, *ut sup.* c. 77. Bonincontrius, *ut sup.* 116.

affection from the son had been plainly manifested. With consummate skill, however, Francesco not only assumed the chief command, although he was the youngest leader in the band, but he continued to retain the obedience and to preserve the discipline of his followers, by employing them in unremitted service, till he had secured their willing affections, and established himself in as uncontrolled a mastery as that which had been possessed by his father. Thus strengthened, he commanded the favour of Naples; and, having received full confirmation in his lordships, he passed, as we have already seen, with so much distinction to himself and so much advantage to the prince who engaged

him, into the service of Milan. The support of
A. D. 1433.

Filippo-Maria enabled him, at the close of the last war with Venice, to wrest the march of Ancona, by force of arms, from Eugenius IV.; and the subsequent necessities of that pontiff yielded to him a recognition of his doubtful rights, together with the title of marquis and the additional high dignity of *Gonfaloniere* of the church. Eugenius, it is true, afterward regretted this surrender, and endeavoured to recover his dominion by the assassination of its new sovereign; but a seasonable disclosure of the plot, on the night before its intended execution, reserved Sforza for yet greater acquisitions. His ultimate views had long been directed to the throne of Milan; a brilliant object, which might probably be attained, could he, now a widower, win the hand of Bianca, the illegitimate daughter of Filippo-Maria, who was without male issue. Those nuptials were indeed promised him by Visconti; but that astute and wily prince was too fully acquainted with the value of the important prize which he had to bestow, not to make it available in every new political intrigue; and each aspirant who could assist any favourite project of the moment, during that moment received his turn of assurance that Bianca should be his reward. The policy of Sforza, therefore, who was intimately acquainted with the dissimulation, the perfidy, and the inconstant temper of Filippo-Maria, and who perceived that fear alone could obtain the fulfilment of this long-promised and perpetually eluded alliance, was to render himself necessary to his present master's ambition; and,

A. D.

1436. accordingly, on the renewal of the war between Visconti and Florence, he engaged in the service of the latter; acutely determining in his own mind

that the consent of his expected father-in-law was more likely to be extorted by compulsion than to flow voluntarily from gratitude. In the following year, when Venice became a partner in the war, she sought Sforza, as A. D. 1437. has been already stated, for her commander, and on his refusal, she intrusted her army to Gian-Francesco di Gonzaga of Mantua, by whom she was foully betrayed and abandoned.

From a coldness which ensued between the two republics, partly on account of their common desire for the same general, Florence made a short separate peace; and Sforza, wisely persisting in his former course of action, was no sooner disengaged than he embraced the A. D. 1439. offers of the signory. On the formation of a new league against Milan, in which Rome, Florence, and Genoa united with Venice, the powers of Sforza were very largely increased, and the chief command of the confederate armies was intrusted to his hand. The two greatest masters of the art of war whom that time produced, and who had frequently fought as comrades under the same banner, were now arrayed against each other; and the memorable struggle which ensued between Sforza and Nicolo Piccinino, who headed the Milanese army, forms a splendid portion of military history; from which, however, it does not accord with our plan to select more than a very few of the most striking incidents.

During the preceding year, in which Venice had been engaged single-handed, Brescia, which she garrisoned, was the great object of contention. In the A. D. 1438. outset of the campaign, Gatta Melata, who commanded the Venetian army, had distinguished himself by a retreat not exceeded in skill by the most brilliant manœuvre on record. The treacherous desertion of the Duke of Mantua, who, quitting his first allies, transferred his whole force to the Milanese service, intercepted the communications of Gatta Melata with the Venetian states, and placed him between two hostile armies. Compelled, therefore, to give way, and unable, from want of boats, to cross the Lago di Garda, which afforded the most obvious passage, he boldly resolved to make its circuit, and to penetrate to the Veronese through the mountains of Tyrol. That difficult and intricate march, over more than forty leagues of an un-

explored district, was commenced at the beginning of winter; and his army, ill-equipped and scantily provisioned, had to force its way through an almost impracticable country, over snows, torrents, precipices and glaciers; in constant apprehension of pursuit by the superior force before which it was retiring, and daily exposed to harassing attacks from the native mountaineers, jealous of their violated neutrality. Even when almost the last defiles were passed, more than one engagement was to be fought with the Mantuan troops, before the Venetians could descend into the plains of Verona; but the intervening heights were carried sword in hand, and merited vengeance was wreaked on the perfidious Gonzaga by a wide ravage of his territories. Piccinino, dissatisfied with the opposition presented by his new ally to an enemy whom he had considered beset with inextricable toils, spoke with bitter sarcasm of the puny efforts of the Duke of Mantua, and exclaimed, alluding sportively to Gatta Melata's name, "By St. Antony! this *Cat* has shown himself far wiser than the *Mouse*!"*

Gatta Melata, thus disengaged, turned immediately to the relief of the city of Brescia, which he had been compelled to abandon to its fate; and whose little garrison, not amounting to one thousand regular soldiers, had been invested, for more than two months, by twenty thousand men under Piccinino. The Milanese batteries were mounted with artillery of similar huge caliber to those monsters which we have had occasion to describe more than once before; and fifteen of their gigantic bombards discharged stones of the enormous weight of three hundred pounds. The defence was intrusted to the *Podestà* Francesco Barbaro, one of the most distinguished personages of his time both in arts and arms. Besides the great actions recorded of him by Soldo, himself an eyewitness of most of them, there is left to us a *commentary* upon this siege by Evangelista Manelmus; who writes indeed with inflation when he compares his hero to Orpheus, Argus, and Briareus, but who at the same time adduces numerous instances both of magnanimity and wisdom which amply justify the utmost extent of his more sober panegyric. More than once did Barbaro, when in the extremity of distress,

* "Per lo — di Sant' Antonio, n' ha saputo piu la Gatta che 'l Sorco."—Soldo, *Ist. Bresciana*, apud Muratori, xli. 790.

reject with horror and indignation projects submitted to him for the assassination of Piccinino. Often when the spirits of the inhabitants appeared to droop, he revived their courage by spreading reports that safety was to be obtained no otherwise than by persevering resistance, since the enemy had resolved not to admit of terms, and had proclaimed a war of extermination, without pity either for sex or age. By night, he fixed in parts of the external walls arrows to which were fastened billets, addressed to the chief citizens, and purporting to be written by friends without. Good care was taken that these despatches should be found in the morning, and that they should contain such tidings and advice as best suited the views of Barbaro. After dexterously pacifying the feuds by which conflicting factions distracted the city, he succeeded in rousing the inhabitants to supply the want of regular troops, and in arraying the whole population against the enemy. Burghers, artisans, monks, priests, ladies of high rank and their handmaidens, young and old, every class and condition, performed garrison duty without a murmur. "We worked within," says Soldo, "while the foe worked without;" and, to the astonishment of the besiegers, whenever a line of rampart fell shattered by their bombardment, fresh defences, raised by the indefatigable toil of hands unused to war, appeared behind, and forbade their entrance. Among the women, a heroine of gentle birth, named Brayda, is especially noticed; her comrades of the same sex were distributed in battalions, mustered at the sound of the drum, and were greatly useful in carrying baskets of earth by torchlight to frame these secondary works. But the plague, which had commenced its ravages before the approach of the enemy, now spread far more widely than at first; and it was attended by scarcity, the usual accompaniment of a long siege; so that, in the simple words of Soldo, who partook of the miseries which he records, "the dearth was strong, the pestilence was stronger; and it seems to me that the citizens could not but desire to die, so evil was their condition."* Not more than two thousand men remained fit for service, and scarcely eight hundred of those could be supplied with arms: yet two-thirds of this little band watched nightly on the walls, and

* *Ut Sup.* 809.

not content with repulsing hourly assaults, they had the almost incredible daring to hazard frequent sorties. On one occasion, when a storming party had received orders to advance, it was deterred by the air of confident security with which the garrison awaited it. The two hostile divisions stood under arms, gazing at each other for more than six hours, till the Brescians, insulting the backwardness of their enemy, danced on the ramparts to the music of their fifes and trumpets. The Milanese at length retired within their lines, and the brave garrison, seizing that favourable moment, rushed down unexpectedly, and put many to the sword, with small loss to themselves. "The slain were numerous," writes one of the combatants, in a letter to the brother of the Doge Foscari, "because we had little inclination for prisoners."* Both that correspondent and Soldo speak with infinite glee, and almost in the same words, of a fortunate discharge made by one of their great pieces of ordnance (*la nostra Bronzina grossa*). No fewer than three hundred men (a number which, in spite of this concurrent testimony, must be rejected as an exaggeration) perished by the fatal bullet; and the enemy, stupified at the sight of the numerous limbs, each of which is specifically described, flying through the air in horrible commixture, hastily gave way. "There might you have seen many helmets crowned with waving plumes, and filled with almost living heads, forced with irresistible violence beyond a very distant part of the walls."†

The besiegers, nevertheless, secure under the protection of their fieldworks, every day pressed their approaches nearer; their lines already reached the ditch which they had drained; more than a single breach exposed the naked city; and mines penetrated into its very centre. One assault would have succeeded but for the accidental fall of a shattered curtain outwards instead of inwards; the besiegers had taken the unavailing precaution of shoring up the exterior; and if the huge masses of stone had given way in an opposite direction, they would have choked the inner ditch, and bridged it with a causeway for their passage. That combat, which began at dawn and terminated only at sunset, was renewed as murderously and as ineffectually on

* Sanuto 1060.

† Soldo, 804.

the following morning. It was then, on the 30th of November, that the enemy descended once more into the ditch, and gained the rampart; "but, by the grace of God, they were repulsed," writes Soldo, whose words we are employing; "and to behold their men-at-arms, with their plumed morions, tottering headlong from the battlements was a great consolation. The air was darkened by the bombards, musketoons, javelins, and stones discharged on both sides. Here might you see many dead corpses borne off, one killed by a cannon-shot, another by small arms, a third by a spear; one-half of the body, perhaps, carried away by the ball, the other not to be found anywhere. Hard by stood women lamenting, 'O, my son!' or 'O, my husband!' No one felt any security that he should not be shattered in pieces, *even to the very nails of his feet.*

"On all sides women and children, and such as were unarmed or could not fight, flocked to the ramparts, bearing to every spot at which the battle was raging with the most fury, bread, cheese, or wine, to refresh their defenders."* The enemy was beaten back on that day also, and on some others which followed, with the most destructive slaughter, till at length, in the middle of December, Piccinino, exhausted by the severity of his losses, and dispirited by repeated failures, dismantled his batteries, burned his engines, and, retiring to winter-quarters, threw up some redoubts on the principal approaches to the town, and converted its siege into a blockade.

The relief of these heroic citizens, still gallantly supporting themselves under complicated ills, was one of Sforza's earliest objects on assuming command in A. D. 1439. the following spring; but for that purpose it was requisite that he should first penetrate the strong lines within which Piccinino remained immoveably intrenched on the Adige; thus hazarding a general engagement at considerable disadvantage. Abandoning that project as almost hopeless, Sforza next thought of finding communication by the Lago di Garda. If supplies could ~~once~~ be embarked and transported across those waters, a small escort might convoy them to the neighbouring gates of Brescia, or a slight effort of the garrison itself might secure their admit-

* Soldo, 801.

tance; for if Piccinino should interpose between the city and the lake, he would leave unprotected the approaches which he now masked. But in what manner was the command of the lake to be obtained? The enemy navigated it with a strong flotilla, and occupied even the peaceful haunts of that Sirmio which the memory of Catullus could not secure from the ravages of war. The Venetians, on the other hand, did not possess a single boat upon its surface; and the immediate passage to it by the Mincio was closed against them since the defection of the Duke of Mantua.

These difficulties, after many days' consideration, appeared insurmountable to the senate, when their attention was drawn to a proposal which at first seemed to them but as the wild fancy of an insane visionary. Sorbolo, a Candiot, who had accurately reconnoitred the whole line of country which was to form the scene of his projected operations, offered, if he were provided with ships and funds, to transport a flotilla from Venice itself to the Lago di Garda. The astonishment of the council at this unheard-of design was mixed with pity for the madman who could entertain it; and they treated as devoid of reason one who imagined that it was within the compass of human power to convey a naval armament more than 200 miles, first through a difficult inland navigation, and then over land itself. Sorbolo, however, who anticipated this reception, and was by no means discouraged at encountering it, persevered in his representations, produced ample testimony of the soundness of his intellect and of his abilities as an engineer, submitted the general outline of his plan to the senators, explained its details, silenced their objections, stimulated their hopes, and at last obtained permission to attempt the experiment. Six galleys, two of them of the first rate, and five-and-twenty barks were intrusted to him; and with that force he commenced and accomplished an enterprise which, although subsequently disregarded, if not forgotten, from the want of any result adequate to its magnitude, may be reckoned among the most stupendous triumphs of human skill, and assuredly is without parallel in history. The much-vaunted operation by which Mahomet II. obtained possession of the harbour of Constantinople was bold and ingenious, but it cannot justly be assimilated to that of Sorbolo. The ground which Mahomet had to pass is described by Gibbon as "un-

even and overspread with thickets ;" yet it was sufficiently level to admit a broad wooden platform, along which the vessels, rolling smoothly, and assisted by their sails, completed their course in the narrow compass of a single night. Three other transportations of ships over land are mentioned by the same historian : one by Hannibal, through a single street of Tarentum, from its citadel to the harbour ; another, acknowledgedly fabulous, across the easy slip of the Isthmus of Corinth, by Augustus, after the battle of Actium ; and a third on the same spot, by Nicetas, a Greek general of the tenth century.* Gibbon adds that it is not impossible Sorbolo might be the adviser and agent of Mahomet, a conjecture in which he has been preceded by the copious and indefatigable Knowles ;† and as there was a lapse of only fourteen years between the two transactions, such a supposition is not forbidden by anachronism.

The flotilla, having sailed to the mouth of the Adige, was towed against its current to a spot about eight leagues below Roveredo, probably that at which the little stream Comeraso discharges itself into the larger river. From that position to Torbolo, the nearest port on the north-eastern extremity of the Lago di Garda, is a distance in a straight line of nearly fifty miles. Somewhat more than half-way is a small lake called by the contemporary writers Sant' Andrea, and now known as the Lago di Loppio. To that lake, along a tract which is for the most part level, the smaller vessels were transported on carriages ; and the galleys, having been mounted on rollers, were dragged by the joint labour of men and oxen ; about three hundred of the latter being required for each ship. On the opposite bank rose Peneda, a part of the lofty and precipitous mountain-range of Baldo, stemming the waters over which it hung with an impregnable rampart, and presenting but a single

* *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxxviii. vol. xii. p. 210. Phranza is the authority cited for the operations of Augustus and Nicetas ; Polybius (viii. *ad fin.*) for that of Hannibal.

Burckhardt, in his *Materials for a History of the Wahabys*, mentions a bold offer made by an Englishman in 1813 to Mohammed Aly, Pacha of Egypt. He proposed to convey a frigate from Alexandria to Cairo by water, and thence across the desert to Suez, a distance of about eighty miles. "He seemed confident that the undertaking was practicable, but his project deviated too much from the usual routine of things to be adopted by the Turks."—262.

† *History of the Turks*, p. 344.

narrow opening formed by the slender thread of a winter torrent. By the slow toil of many thousand peasants collected from the neighbourhood, the base of that hard rock was levelled, the trees which choked the bed of the almost headlong stream were felled, and its channel was sufficiently enlarged to admit the breadth of a galley; meanwhile, the fragments of stone and the trunks and boughs of the trees which had fallen beneath the axe were employed to found a rude causeway, the surface of which was covered with earth; and up this abrupt and tortuous passage, extending for more than a mile, the ships were painfully forced by levers, pulleys, and windlasses to the summit of the mountain, which is described as difficult of ascent at all times, even to a lightly-clad and unarmed traveller. Sabellico, who visited the spot about fifty years afterward, when assured that it was the line of this march, viewed it with astonishment and incredulity; nor was his unbelief removed till the guides pointed to manifest traces, and showed a deep rut worn into the rock; an eternal monument, as it were, of the mighty work of Sorbolo.*

A small portion of table-land which crowned the mountain's head was speedily crossed, and at its extreme verge the wished-for lake was descried. But here fresh and still greater difficulties than had hitherto been encountered were to be overcome; for the rock for about half a mile was almost scarped, thickly wooded, and untracked even by the slippery paths of a hunter or a goatherd. It seemed as if on such a spot the flotilla must be destined to certain destruction; but the trees were again felled, and the pickaxe hewed out a shelving course, dislodging huge masses of granite, which, as they thundered below, contributed to diminish the fearful height. After a few days' preparation, the ships, harnessed, if we may so say, to powerful machinery, and obedient to the huge tasking by which they were restrained, glided slowly and almost insensibly through a groove worn by their own weight into the waters which bathed the foot of the mountain. One only, it is said, of the whole armament was disabled in this most extraordinary enterprise,† which occupied three months in its per-

* Dec. lib. 3.

† We have here chiefly followed the minute narrative of Poggio Bracciolini, *Hist. Flor. apud Muratori*, xx. lib. vii. p. 890.

formance, fifteen days of which were consumed in the passage over land.

This labour and ingenuity, however, was after all but fruitlessly exerted; for scarcely had the armament crossed the Lago di Garda when Piccinino overwhelmed it with a superior force, frustrated every movement which Sforza attempted in its support, and captured or destroyed the greater number of its vessels. Thus baffled in his projects, irritated by disappointment, and feeling that his reputation demanded success for its maintenance, Sforza determined on penetrating at all hazards to Brescia, now reduced to extremity. Want was at its height in that devoted city, and the streets, crowded with the dead or dying, echoed only to the cries of famished children, "Bread! bread! for the love of God, bread!"* No other route, however, was open to the Venetian army than a direct countermarch by those mountains over which Gatta Melata had effected his skilful retreat; and that difficult course was accordingly undertaken. But Piccinino carefully watched the progress of his adversary, hung upon his steps, and, secure of the navigation of the Lago di Garda, was able to choose at pleasure the most favourable moment for attack. It was on the 9th of November that Sforza presented himself before the fortress of Tenna, which commands a narrow defile on the north-western angle of the lake; and Piccinino, unwilling to abandon that important post, no longer deferred battle. The Venetians, entangled on disadvantageous ground, fought with resolution, but with little hope of victory; till the appearance of a detachment from the garrison of Brescia on the neighbouring heights, whence they rolled heavy stones into the plain, struck the Milanese, whose rear they menaced, with an ill-justified panic. Terror ran along their wavering lines till the rout became general; and whole divisions, throwing away their arms, sought escape by flight, which for the most part only exposed them as a more easy prey to the pursuit of their enemies. Piccinino himself, with no more than ten companions, found refuge within the castle of Tenna, which afforded, indeed, safety for the moment, but from its scanty garrison and slight defences forbade hope of any continued resistance. The Ve-

* Soldo, 612.

netians, meantime, secure of their prisoner, disposed sentinels round the fortress as evening fell, and confidently awaited his surrender on the following morning. To traverse the field of battle undetected, and to penetrate, not only through the cordon of armed men by which the fort itself was surrounded, but even through the main Venetian army encamped in its rear, might be supposed an impossible attempt; yet such was the daring enterprise upon which Piccinino unhesitatingly resolved. His difficulty was increased by his infirmities; for in consequence of former wounds he was unable to walk without support, and no horse could be procured in his present retreat. Relying, however, on the tried fidelity of one of his attendants, a German, remarkable for extraordinary bodily strength, he placed himself in a sack half-filled with rags, and quitted his hiding-place in the dead of night, borne on the shoulders of his trusty and vigorous guardian. When the Venetian sentinels challenged the German as he crossed the field of battle, he seemed and replied as if he were one of those camp-followers whose hateful trade is to despoil the dead; asserting that his present occupation was a search for booty, and his burden one of the slain, who appeared of sufficient value to repay the trouble of carriage. Under that disguise, perhaps not wholly without connivance (for it was with *condottieri* that he was dealing, and Piccinino was beloved by all who at any time had served under him), he gained a spot of safety, and found means to provide his master with a horse. A few hours placed the fugitive beyond the reach of pursuit, and restored him to his companions in arms.*

In the following campaign, during the greater part of which Sforza continued to be successful, Brescia A. D. 1440. was at length permanently relieved. Both armies continued in perpetual activity; but to abridge the narrative of their numerous, rapid, and inconclusive opera-

* There are some slight variations in the different accounts of this escape of Piccinino. We have followed that given by Platina, *Hist. Mand.* apud Murat. xx. 829; and three lines which corroborate it in the *Novus Mars de gestis N. Piccinini* of Laurentius Spiritus of Perugia.

Fecit dentro un saccho per huom morto
La nocte trare fuor molto nascoso,
Portato di lontan per fino al porto.—il. 57.

tigas, would be no more than to frame a confused and ill-assorted patchwork. Winter terminated the operations of the field; and so soon as Sforza retired to cantonments he received full proof that he had rightly estimated the policy which he might most advantageously adopt in his transactions with Filippo-Maria. Although the arms of the *condottieri* in the service of Milan had been unfortunate, they were still clamorous for reward: and, if the duke had complied with their demands, he must have partitioned his domains among them. In order to disengage himself from this rapacity, he made secret overtures to Sforza, and again held out the glittering lure of a union with his daughter as the price of treachery to Venice. The situation of the Venetian general was at that moment full of peril. The bad faith of the Duke of Milan always rendered his profers suspected, and hitherto he was not sufficiently distressed to find his interest in sincerity: nevertheless, although Sforza distinctly perceived that the hour had not yet arrived which was to elevate his fortunes to the lofty pinnacle he ever kept steadily in view; and although he determined to avoid any present committal of himself to the tempter by whom he was beset; still a knowledge that he had been in communication with Milan was not likely to escape the keen and vigilant eye of the Venetian signory; and the fate of Carmagnuola announced the fearful consequences of their awakened jealousy. In order therefore to escape the possibility of suspicion, Sforza employed the winter in a visit to the capital, where he undisguisedly disclosed the proposals of Visconti, and was treated with that confidence and distinction which had been earned both by his loyalty and his valour. Francesco Barbaro and a hundred noble Brescians, his comrades, were invited at the same time to receive substantial testimonies of the gratitude of the republic; and the festivities in honour of all those illustrious guests were heightened by fresh rejoicings to celebrate the marriage of Giacopo Foscari, a son of the doge. The customary splendour of jousts and tournaments, and the display of the Bucentaur freighted with the noblest and fairest matrons whom Venice could boast, formed the least gorgeous portion of those magnificent spectacles; during which a bridge was thrown across from the church of San Samuele to the *Riva di San Barnabè*, in order that the nuptial pomp

might proceed on horseback to convey the bride from the palace of her father Contarini.

A. D. 1441. This absence of Sforza from his quarters enabled Piccinino to open the campaign with considerable success ; and the parsimony of Venice had so far crippled her general, that in the middle of the ensuing summer his forces were altogether inadequate to face his opponent. By a series of skilful manœuvres, however, he avoided any general engagement ; and, having gained a march upon his enemy, he sat down before the fortress of Martenengo, which intersected the communication between Bergamo and Brescia. But that castle was strongly garrisoned ; and Piccinino, first extending his much superior numbers, and then gradually contracting their circle, at last completely surrounded the hostile camp, cut off its supplies, made retreat impossible, and threatened its rear if the operations of the siege should be continued. The forage and provisions of Sforza were already exhausted ; no convoys could penetrate the lines by which he was environed ; day and night his troops were harassed by real or false attacks ; and, even if he should attempt, as a last hope, to cut his way through the Milanese, his own means were so feeble when compared with the great strength of his enemy's position, that the escape of any part of his army was more than doubtful. Every hour contributed to increase his peril, and he already surrendered himself to the most melancholy forebodings ; the sun of his glory appeared about to set in darkness ; the loss of his bands involved in it the total destruction of his power ; and all those long and fondly cherished dreams of future sovereignty, which he had lately deemed approaching their realization, were now, alas ! to be dissipated for ever.

But the Duke of Milan had far too much sagacity not to perceive that, if he completed the destruction of Sforza, he should at the same time deprive himself of the single counterpoise by which he could hope to balance his own refractory generals ; and, paradoxical therefore as it might seem, Sforza never possessed so commanding an influence as at this very moment in which he appeared to stand on the brink of ruin. While he brooded despondingly over his cheerless prospects, one of the most confidential agents of Filippo-Maria was introduced at midnight to his tent. After

vividly portraying the certain dangers to which the Venetian army was exposed, and the impossibility of its escape, that envoy represented also the motives which induced his master not to press his triumph to extremity ; and he concluded with an unexpected offer of peace ; to obtain which the Duke of Milan would not only abandon all the conquests made by Piccinino during the present campaign, but would also immediately complete the marriage between Sforza and his daughter, bestowing upon her as a dowry the territory of Cremona. There could not now be any reason for mistrusting the sincerity of this proposal ; for Sforza was already in Visconti's power, and it was unnecessary to deceive him. Equally astonished therefore and overjoyed, the Venetian general, although not intrusted with plenary authority, accepted the welcome conditions on his own responsibility. The preliminaries were signed at the moment ; and, on the morrow, both Piccinino in the Milanese camp, and the *provveditori* in that of the Venetians, received, with similar wonder, although with far different satisfaction, the announcement that hostilities had ceased. The former, heart-stricken at perceiving the fruits of a whole life of toil and peril wrested from his grasp at the moment in which he felt most secure of their possession ; and learning the aggrandizement of his rival when he most confidently anticipated his utter humiliation, at first refused obedience ; and when compelled by threats of coercion to fulfil his orders, he bitterly denounced the proverbial ingratitude of princes. It was now, said the veteran warrior, that he first painfully felt the overwhelming burden of old age. He had wasted his best years, had endured loss of health and vigour, and had become infirm from wounds, in the service of a master, who, at the close of a life devoted to the advancement of his interests, deemed him unworthy of admission to his councils ; and bestowed the very provinces, which himself had so often either defended or conquered, upon that enemy from whom they had been either shielded or regained.

Yet in spite of these just reproaches, which Piccinino uttered against Visconti, he consented to an interview with Sforza, and the two great generals met with apparent confidence and cordiality. The small suite which accompanied them was unarmed, and each expressed and probably felt for the other profound sentiments of esteem. Their camps

were no longer separated, and in their union they exhibited a scene of unbounded festivity. Meantime, the decided step which Sforza had taken was notified and approved at Venice. Perhaps he might not be wholly without misgiving as to the judgment which would be passed upon it by his employers. But the signory loudly applauded his prompt exercise of discretion; their plenipotentiaries attended a congress at Capriana, whence the peace there concluded derived its name; and when Sforza had received the hand of his youthful bride, who is described to have possessed rare beauty joined to yet rarer talents, he was invited, together with the princess, to the Venetian capital, where they were entertained with unwonted magnificence.

The few remaining years of the Duke of Milan's life continued to be agitated by his former ever-fluctuating policy. At one moment in alliance, at the next engaged in war with Sforza; now provoking Venice by hasty infractions of the treaty of Capriana, and then as unexpectedly negotiating with her; this subtle, restless, intriguing, and unhappy prince remained unchanged on his very death-bed, dissembled to the public eye the malady by which he was oppressed, and expired before any one, except his physicians, suspected his danger or even his disorder. The personal habits of this last duke of the house of Visconti have been drawn, with singular minuteness, by one accurately qualified for the task, Pietro Candido Decembrio,* a son of the private secretary of Giovanni Galeazzo, and who himself filled more than one high office in the court of Filippo-Maria. The character which he has described presents an odious mixture of cunning, superstition, and cowardice; paralleled, in many instances, by one whose biography has been almost as closely recorded, the detestable Louis XI. of France. Some of the particulars which we give below may perhaps be considered almost unworthy even of the trifling pages of a memoir-writer; but we transcribe them as illustrative not only of the manners of a remarkable individual, but in some measure of the general habits of the age.

The person of Filippo-Maria was most forbidding,† and

* *Apud Murat. xx.*

† Decembrio does not allow the ill-favouredness of his master; yet it certainly may be deduced from some of his expressions. *Bneas Syllivius* affirms it in the plainest terms

extreme meagerness in youth was succeeded, as life advanced, by more than proportionate obesity. His eyes were large, fiery, and piercing, ever wandering with a restless glare, as if unable or unwilling to continue long fixed in repose on a single object. From weakness in his legs, he always employed a stick, and during his whole reign no one ever saw him walking without the support of an attendant. Although choice in the richness and fashion of his clothes, he was negligent even to uncleanness in the processes of shaving and combing. In other persons he abhorred any splendour of attire, and forbade those who used it from approaching his presence : insomuch that when, on one occasion, Amadeus, a Piedmontese prince, connected with him by marriage, presented himself at an audience in a fantastic mode borrowed from the French, and at that time very prevalent among personages of distinction, the Duke of Milan ordered his forester to bring up some hounds strapped in those hunting doublets which were worn for protection in the wild-boar chase ; and pointed in derision to the leathern-girt dogs as fitting mates for his tightly apparelled visiter. In his diet he was most whimsical ; turnips and quails were among his chief luxuries ; yet such was his detestation of fat, that every morsel of it was carefully pared away from the latter before they were dressed. But the livers of all animals formed his choicest dainty, and his cook was frequently summoned in the dead of night to kill a calf and prepare that favourite repast. The fowls destined for his table were generally plucked in his presence. His chief amusements were field sports, and so retentive was his memory on subjects connected with the kennel and the stable, that he could tell the breed of a puppy but once seen,* and knew accurately the number of bridles which he ought to find in his harness-room. Many of his dogs were imported from Britain ; yet however passionately fond he might be both of them and of horses, to each he was a capricious, and sometimes a cruel master : thus, if a hound committed a fault, he would dismount and flog him savagely with his own hand ; if a horse neighed unseasonably, he would mutilate his tongue ; and if the poor animal champed

* Like the glutton of the satirist—

Qui semel aspecti litus dicebat echini.

the bit, he would pull out his teeth. Within doors, he occasionally employed himself in reading, for all the Visconti cultivated literature; and he had the good taste to prefer Livy, Dante, and Petrarch to most other writers. Yet not a few of his leisure hours were devoted to the inspection, perhaps to the actual management, of a puppet-show,* upon which toy he had expended the great sum of 1500 pieces of gold.

For the most part, however, he lived in close seclusion; and even his pages underwent a long discipline of tuition to qualify them for the moroseness and asceticism of their future master. They were separated from their families during two years, and exercised in silence and solitude under fitting governors till they became accustomed to the habits of the melancholy court which they were about to enter. Clinging strongly to life, and contemplating its termination with alarm, Filippo-Maria daily recounted to his physicians, with the minutest particularity, all circumstances affecting his health, listened with trembling anxiety to their reports in answer, and yielded implicit obedience even to their most frivolous prescriptions. All conversation which might bring death to mind was carefully avoided in his presence, and if the discourse at any time happened to involve any allusion to mortality, he shrank from it with manifest uneasiness. Even when bodily infirmity increased upon him, and when in his latter years he was afflicted with almost total blindness, so unwilling was he to expose that defect to observation, that his attendants were instructed to warn him secretly of all objects or persons near at hand, so that he might not inadvertently betray his want of sight. If he walked abroad, he appeared absorbed in incessant devotion, repeating prayers in a low voice and counting them on his fingers; insomuch that religion seemed with him, not an acknowledgment of God's goodness, but a laborious propitiation of the Divine wrath; and whenever his daily sum of prayer was in any part forgotten or curtailed, he endeavoured to compound for the omission by a proportionate excess of almsgiving, prompted not by charity, but by terror. His sleep was so uncertain and disturbed that he frequently changed his couch thrice in the course of a single

* *Id ludi genus qui ex imaginibus depictus sit.*

night, lying not in the ordinary manner, lengthwise, but across it; or he arose and paced his chamber for many hours successively, with some of the attendants, who always watched in an anteroom. If his dreams had been evil, he prayed in tones scarcely audible, turning at intervals to each of the four cardinal points; and in order that the silence which he dreaded in his dark hours of sleeplessness might be broken, many night-birds were confined in the palace courts, whose screams were more grateful to his ears than uninterrupted stillness. A belief in judicial astrology was prevalent in his times, and he may be forgiven for addiction to a folly by which even the wise have been enslaved. It but little, therefore, surprises us to hear that he was a rigid fatalist; that during conjunction, opposition, sextile, square, and trine, he shut himself up in his cabinet, and denied audience even to his ministers; that he struck a golden medal, impressed with planetary characters, as a talisman against lightning; that he raised a double wall in his bedchamber to protect himself from thunder; and that during storms he fell prostrate, in a remote corner, before an image of *Sta. Barbara*. In those points he but shared the superstition common to his age; but we regard with equal astonishment, contempt, and pity a prince who thought it unlucky if he fastened his right shoe on his left foot; who on Friday dreaded the encounter of persons who were unshorn, and forbore on the same day from handling any bird, especially a quail; who would not mount a horse on the feast of *John the Baptist*, nor wear any suit but green on the first of May; and who refused to eat on one occasion till the dishes had been removed and replaced, because the sewer, while decking the table, had unwittingly approached it with the wrong foot foremost. Such, however, were a few of the anilities recorded of one who has been esteemed the most politic sovereign of his time; and who, if the wisdom of kings is to be graduated by no other scale than that of the mastery which they attain of simulation and dissimulation, abundantly merited the unenviable distinction which he coveted and enjoyed.

Although *Filippo-Maria* died without legitimate issue, he claimed a right to bequeath his dominions by will, and four of those instruments were produced on his demise. The

first two named distant relatives, a third recognised the Princess Bianca as sole legatee, and in the last, signed not many days before his death, at the very moment at which he affected a renewal of confidential intercourse with Sforza, he disinherited his daughter, and appointed as his successor Alfonso, King of Naples. But the Milanese were ill inclined to submit their liberties to the pleasure of a deceased master; and although two parties within the walls respectively advocated the pretensions of Sforza and Alfonso, a great majority of the citizens persisted in the assertion of independence, and Milan declared herself a free republic. Sforza, reduced to his single fief of Cremona, exposed to the resentment of Venice, whose alliance he had abandoned, and far too weak to press by arms any claim to the succession of his father-in-law, dexterously temporized with this new government, and accepted the command of its forces. The overtures for peace which the Milanese, on their first assertion of liberty, had made to Venice, were rejected by that haughty state; and she paid dearly in the end for this mistaken policy upon which the future elevation of Sforza was mainly founded.

In the ensuing campaign, Sforza was eminently successful. He took Piacenza, the second city in Lombardy, by storm; and at Casal Maggiore he wholly destroyed a large Venetian flotilla. The Bresciano, if conquered, had been stipulated as the price of his services, and thither accordingly he earnestly wished to march immediately after this victory. But it was for their own security, not for the aggrandizement of their general, that the Milanese were warring, and they peremptorily instructed him to besiege Caravaggio, a strongly fortified town in the marshes between the Adda and the Oglio; which, next to Lodi, was the most formidable possession of Venice in the Cremasco. Sforza did not yet find it seasonable to disobey; and he sat down before Caravaggio in an intrenched camp, completely environing the town, and defended both by the numerous canals which everywhere intersected the neighbourhood, and by lines carefully thrown up in his rear as well as in his front. Within three days after his occupation of that post he was followed by the Venetians under Attendolo, who pitched his tents close at hand, and strengthened his camp by similar field-works. Daily skirmishes ensued with

the cost of many lives on both sides, but each party was too cautious to hazard a general action; nor was it till after more than thirty days diligently employed in forming his preparations for attack, and increasing those for defence, that Sforza opened his batteries on Caravaggio. A breach was shortly reported to be practicable, but even then he was apprehensive of assaulting in the presence of a vigilant enemy. In the Venetian camp, much variety of opinion prevailed respecting future operations. Attendolo himself and his more experienced officers calculated that the want of confidence evident between Sforza and the government of Milan, the jealousies known to exist among the hostile generals, and their daily-increasing difficulty of obtaining supplies, must ere long compel them to abandon their present quarters; and therefore that the necessity of risking a battle might be avoided. But, on the other hand, a hotter spirit was found in Tiberto Brandolini, who, having penetrated to Sforza's line, in disguise, felt confident that he had ascertained a passage by which not only Caravaggio might be relieved, but the besieger's army itself, also, might be surprised and routed. The senate was appealed to for decision between the conflicting plans, and notwithstanding its habitual caution, it pronounced in favour of the boldest.

One extremity of Sforza's camp rested on a morass covered with high brushwood, which was deemed impassable; but it was through that difficult tract that Brandolini had discovered a secure approach. On the 15th of September, Attendolo, leaving his whole infantry and about sixteen hundred horse in his camp, with instructions to amuse the enemy by the usual show of skirmishing, entered the morass without being discovered, at the head of ten thousand cavalry. The time chosen was about noon on a Sunday. Sforza, who, with his principal officers, was attending mass in a chapel of the virgin near the walls of Caravaggio,* was advised that some movement had taken place in the enemy's camp; and not knowing on what quarter to expect attack, he rode forward, unarmed, to reconnoitre. Meantime Attendolo disengaged his troops from the wood, and put to flight a small patrol which first encountered him under Carolo Gonzaga; who, having received a slight

* P. Justiniani, viii. p. 194. Sabellico, iii. p. 672.

sabre cut in the face, turned his horse at full speed, nor stopped till he announced at Milan a total defeat of his comrades. The camp, as it was thought, was now surprised in flank, and victory appeared certain to the assailants. But Tiberto, in his reconnaissance, had not observed a deep wet fosse which protected it on the side of the morass; and which, cutting also the narrow platform already gained, midway between the wood and Caravaggio, effectually obstructed at that point the advance of the heavy-armed cavalry. On the inner bank of that fosse, Sforza, who now penetrated Attendolo's design, collected his main force, and although still but half armed, with his cuirass hastily buckled on and without greaves or brassarts, he watched the moment at which his enemy would be checked by this unexpected barrier. Their van was led by an officer well known to Sforza, Roberto Bodiense; who, mounted on a fiery horse, and clad in glittering armour, looked everywhere around him for a passage, and throwing a confident glance on the ranks opposed to him, called out with military bluntness, "Count, you have no chance to-day of escaping from hot water!"—"Trust me, Roberto," was Sforza's answer, in a similar tone of raillery, "you are not likely to get away without paying your host his full reckoning!" and, at the word, ordering a drawbridge behind the Venetians to be lowered, he directed a charge upon them so unexpectedly in rear that they wavered and gave way. As he observed the uncertain quivering of the hostile lances, when the two lines first encountered, he recognised it as a sure sign of victory, and exclaimed that the day was his own. A second bridge poured forth upon their now shattered mass a fresh column in front; till, despairing of success, they betook themselves to the morass as affording the sole chance of escape. Few, however, could regain the firm path by which they had advanced, and their pursuers allowed them to plunge into the miry depths, from which they were extricated only to become prisoners. Among the first who surrendered was their leader, Roberto Bodiense, who, in the vain hope of disengaging himself, and aiming now at safety instead of triumph, had dismounted and stripped off his heavy armour. Sforza, leaving behind him the prey of which he was certain on his return, pressed forward to the enemy's camp, forced its lines, and captured

the five thousand infantry by which it was defended. Stores, baggage, tents, and treasure, arms, horses, standards, and artillery, almost all the chief officers, and nearly fifteen thousand prisoners, were the fruits of this day's easy, although most complete, victory. Every horse-boy of the Milanese, it is said, returned opulent with pillage. Attendolo himself had the good fortune to escape, singly, from the rout, and he endeavoured to collect at Brescia the scattered remnant of his army, now amounting in all but to two thousand men. The prisoners, according to the custom of the time, and in this instance also from the difficulty which the conquerors found in guarding numbers almost equal to their own, were stripped of their arms and accoutrements, and then restored to freedom.

Among his captives none could afford higher gratification to Sforza than the two Venetian *provveditori*; and in his treatment of one of them he exhibited a brilliant instance of dignified forbearance. Machiavelli, the contemporary historian, who preserves this noble trait of character, does not inform us whether it was Hermolao Donato or Gerardo Dandolo,* who from the commencement of hostilities had indulged in rude and unmeasured invectives whenever Sforza's name was mentioned. The "bastard," and the "lowborn," were the terms by which he had been used to distinguish him. Exposed by his capture to the merited vengeance of him whom he had thus insulted, he was led to the count's tent overpowered with terror, and there, meanly humble in proportion to his former insolence, he bowed down at his feet, with tears and supplications for pardon. Sforza raised him gently, and, taking his hand, bade him be of good cheer, and apprehend no ill. "I wonder," he continued, "that a person of your gravity and prudence should have fallen into the grievous error of speaking ill of one undeserving evil report. As for the

* There can be no doubt from the narrative of Poggio Bracciolini, (*Hist. Florent.* viii. ap. Murat. xx. 424), that it was Dandolo; and that he had employed much more than hard words against Sforza, whose life he personally sought, on one occasion, with great fury, when the count was embarrassed by a horse which had been shot under him at the siege of Piacenza. Donato, it seems, after the battle of Caravaggio, might have escaped, but he preferred surrendering himself, stating, at the same time, that if he returned to Venice in freedom, after so great a defeat, he knew the fate which he must expect from the Council of Ten.

matters concerning which you have accused me, I know not what passed between my father Sforza and my mother Lacia. I was not present, nor had I any means of regulating the connexion, whatever it might be, which subsisted between them. On such a point I do not think, therefore, that either praise or blame can deservedly attach to me. But for those things which belong to my own share, I have ever endeavoured so to act as to avoid reproach, and to the truth of this assertion both yourself and your senate are able to bear testimony. For the future, let me admonish you to be more charitable in speaking of others, and more cautious in your own affairs.”* Self-restraint, indeed, was one of Sforza’s most eminent virtues: an instance of it in a much earlier part of his life, which his biographer Simoneta has detailed at length, but which, as it does not belong to our narrative, would be misplaced here, is a more remarkable example of the triumph of generous moral feeling than even the well-known continence, as it is called, of Scipio.†

If peace were necessary to Venice after these great losses, it was scarcely less desirable for Milan, whose general had now conquered for himself the right of independence. But from the hostile city, already in the enjoyment of the fruits of victory, no very advantageous terms were to be expected by the signory; to Sforza, on the contrary, they had much to offer, and from him therefore much in return might be obtained. Sforza, in the following negotiation, which was conducted through some of his prisoners, has been taxed with perfidy to the state by which he was employed: but it is obvious that each party had been long weary of connexion with the other; that the bond uniting the *condottieri* with those by whom he was hired was at all times easy to be loosed; and that upon the alliance offered by Venice appeared to depend the attainment of that substantial prize, to the pursuit of which he had dedicated the best years of his life. His choice lay between the realization of all his brilliant hopes if he withdrew from his present unsatisfactory engagement, and the probability of ungrateful rejection by those whom he had already so largely and so thanklessly benefited, if he ad-

* Machiav. *Ist. Flor.* vi.

† Simoneta *de reb. gest. F. Sforza ap Murat.* xxi. 303.

hered to it. So that the decision which he finally adopted may be palliated, by considering it rather an act of self-defence than a breach of good faith. In the course of October, he agreed to surrender to Venice the entire Cremasco, and all his conquests in Bergamo and Brescia, and in return he was recognised and guarantied as successor to the other dominions of Filippo-Maria, to procure the submission of which the signory promised both men and money. Victory, it would seem, was little necessary for the aggrandizement of a power which, on the total destruction of a fleet and an army, could found the acquisition of a province.

Before the close of the following year, Venice occupied all the promised fortresses, and then, for the first time, manifested coldness to her new ally. Her A. D.
1449. crooked state craft instructed her that to divide the Milanese into two separate small dominions was far more to her own advantage than to establish one strong government in a single hand; and, in the very teeth of her recent guarantee, she concluded peace with Milan, requiring Sforza to acknowledge that republic, and to rest content with a small allotment for himself, carved out from the former territory of Visconti. War, as may be supposed, was renewed between the count and the signory. During many months he blockaded Milan, till famine raged within it in its A. D.
1450. extremest horrors. The Venetians, meantime, were satisfied to observe the besieging army, and to intercept the supplies of Sforza's camp with no less certainty than he did those of Milan. Their position was securely chosen; they relied more upon time than upon the sword for ultimate success; and they abstained from any attempt to relieve their allies, from a detestable calculation that the citizens must ultimately submit, and that the chances were in favour of their opening their gates to Venice as their future mistress rather than to Sforza.

But this cruel inaction frustrated its own purpose. The famished populace, stimulated by their own misery and by the indifference of their nominal friends, surrounded the palace in which the magistrates were discussing the necessity of throwing themselves into the arms of Venice. The proposal when communicated to the people was received with indignation; and an ill-timed address from the Venetian envoy, Leonardo Venieri, who employed menaces

instead of conciliation, roused them to acts of violence of which he became the earliest victim. This sedition, resulting more from impatience of continued suffering than from any prearranged design, continued through the night succeeding a day which had been stained by bloodshed : and, on the morrow, when the chief citizens again assembled and demanded what were the wishes of the insurgents, no one was prepared to suggest any definite course ; but the universal voice rejected, with equal abhorrence, submission either to Sforza or to the Venetians. The former, however, was not without secret agents within the walls, skilled in the subtle direction of popular movements, and ready to profit by such opportunities as it was foreseen must occur. One of those partisans, seeing a favourable moment, addressed the rabble ; painted in strong colours the incapacity of every other protector who had been named ; vaunted the power, the goodness, and the clemency of Sforza ; and asserted his almost legitimate and hereditary pretensions, as the adopted son of their late prince, and the husband of his daughter. Such a connexion, he urged, must appear the most natural which they could establish ; it would ensure immediate peace ; and, on the very moment at which it was announced, it would terminate their present most intolerable sufferings. This prospect of instant relief, so adroitly exhibited, was the master-key to the passions of the multitude. The loud curses which had before pursued the name of Sforza were exchanged for equally clamorous bursts of applause ; he was hailed as the lawful sovereign and the only deliverer of Milan ; and his wily agent, Gasparo di Vilmercato, was deputed to convey to him, at the instant, the adhesion of his new subjects.

Sforza, apprized of the state of popular feeling, was already approaching the walls, and, as a pledge of friendly intention, each horseman in his escort bore with him an ample provision of bread. Far in advance of the city, he was met by an eager crowd, whose shouts of joy were increased by this welcome and unexpected distribution of food among their starving ranks. But to the count's surprise, when he arrived at the ramparts, the gates were closed and the drawbridges raised ; while a small band of the nobler class addressed him from within, and, as a condition of his entrance, proffered an oath which might secure the im-

munkies of the state, and preserve it from the rule of an unrestricted master. Vilmercato again succeeded in removing this new obstacle; and Sforza, confident in the support of his armed followers, hurried on by the enthusiastic violence of the rabble, and little willing to render that throne conditional which might be his own without stipulation, so soon as the gate was opened rode on at once to the cathedral; and there, at its porch in the open street, unable to dismount from the pressure of the countless throng which surrounded him, offered up a brief thanksgiving for the boon which Heaven had vouchsafed. Then, having distributed troops in such posts as might best secure possession of the city, he returned to his camp. Within a month the remainder of Lombardy was subdued, or tendered its submission; and on the 25th of March, Sforza, accompanied by Bianca and his children, made a solemn entry into his capital. The magistrates had prepared for him a triumphal car, and the rich canopy which appertains to royalty, but he rejected those gaudy trappings as unsuited to his habits; and assuming his principedom as he had fought for it, in a soldier's guise on horseback, he received the homage of his citizens, and transferred the ducal crown of Milan to the line of THE PEASANT OF COTIGNOLA.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM A. D. 1450 TO A. D. 1479.

Continuation of the War with Francesco Sforza—Visit of the Emperor Frederic III. to Venice—Peace with Sforza—Treaty with the Turks—Robbery of the Treasury of St. Mark's—The two Foscari—The Inquisition of State—Turkish War—Crusade of Pius II.—Death of Francesco Sforza—Invasion of Friuli—Fall of Croia—Siege of Scutari—Peace with Mahomet II.

DOGES.

A. D.

FRANCESCO FOSCARI—deposed,

1457. LXVIII. PASCALE MALIPIERI.

1462. LXIX. CHRISTOFORO MORO.

1471. LXX. NICOLO TRONO.

1473. LXXI. NICOLO MARCELLO.

1474. LXXII. PIETRO MONCENIGO.

1476. LXXIII. ANDREA VENDRAMINO.

1478. LXXIV. GIOVANNI MONCENIGO.

THE title of Francesco Sforza to the dukedom of Milan was not recognised by Venice till four years after he had obtained virtual possession of the crown, and that period was occupied by an indecisive and uninteresting war. Each party sedulously avoided the hazard of a general engagement; and the singular expedient which Sforza adopted on one occasion with the seeming wish of provoking his enemy to combat, was far more probably employed in order that he might escape the imputation of backwardness than that he might really obtain a final appeal to arms. After a campaign of varied manœuvres, in which each commander successfully eluded his adversary, the Duke of Milan despatched a herald to the camp of

A. D.

1452.

Gentile Leonissa, the general of the republic, bearing a bloody gauntlet and inviting him to a pitched battle: the plain of Montechiaro was named as the field, the time was left to the choice of the Venetians. This formal cartel, the words of which were precisely dictated by Sforza himself, was as formally answered.* Two gauntlets and two lances dipped in blood† were returned by the herald, as pledges of faith, and the defiance was accepted for the third succeeding day, between three and four hours after sunrise. Meantime, instructions were issued similar to those which regulated a combat in the lists, and the preliminaries were adjusted with nice attention to the habits of chivalry. When the Milanese displayed their line upon the plain on the appointed morning, a thick fog prevented them from discovering their enemy; and, as it withdrew, only a small detachment appeared in sight. The remainder were partly intrenched under cover of the neighbouring woods, or protected from attack by strong, marshy ground; partly threatening the scantily guarded camp of their opponents. A heavy rain prohibited Sforza's advance, and after having erected a column on the plain, upon which the gauntlets of Leonissa were suspended as trophies, he retired to his quarters, claiming victory because he had first offered defiance.

While engaged in this harassing and inglorious conflict, the republic nevertheless exhibited in her capital a scene of extraordinary rejoicing. Frederic III., twelve years after his election to the empire, assumed the imperial diadem at Rome. The iron crown of Lombardy, which in our own times has been the coveted prize of the greatest conqueror in modern history, was disregarded by the weak Austrian prince, because it was preserved at Monza in custody of the new Duke of Milan, whose title he refused to confirm. On returning from his coronation, Frederic, with his newly married consort, Eleonora of Portugal, revisited Venice, through which city he had before passed on his progress to Rome. The eternal Bucentaur, surrounded by unnumbered

* Both Sforza's challenge and Leonissa's reply are given at length by Simonetta, *op. Murat.* xxi. 639.

† Ancus Martius instituted a similar custom at Rome on a declaration of war. *Fieri solitum, ut faciales hastam ferratam aut sanguineam præstam ad fines eorum ferret.* Livy I. 23.

vessels of every name and burden, glittering with brocade and tapestry, gold, silk, and banners,—the doge and his court,—the patricians and their noble dames,—all of dignity and beauty which Venice could display, poured forth to honour the imperial guests on their days of separate arrival. A long and brilliant course of festivities succeeded; and at a public ball, the illustrious pair condescended to mingle personally in the dance. Besides a golden crown set with jewels presented to Eleonora herself, the senate, as a pledge of affection and fidelity to a generation yet to come, offered to the babe of which the empress, although not yet fifteen, already gave promise, a costly mantle, and a purple coverlid for its cradle, richly interwoven with pearls. If we are to believe Justiniani,* the emperor, at a banquet in the ducal palace, foretold that this bribe to the unborn infant would prove unavailing; and turning to Foscari, while he protested his own unchangeable attachment to Venice, at the same time lamented the injuries which he foresaw would hereafter be inflicted on her by his descendants. There is yet another anecdote connected with this imperial visit, which, for the credit of the chief actor in it, might be wished forgotten. Among the presents tendered to the acceptance of Frederic was a magnificent service of the purest crystal glass, from the furnaces of Murano, long the chief emporium of that once rare and difficult manufacture. The emperor, who weighed gifts by other standards than those of taste and beauty, was disappointed in the material. He made a sign to the court jester who accompanied him, and the adroit knave, as if inadvertently stumbling against the table, upset and shattered the frail vases with which it was covered. "Had they been of gold or silver," was the sordid and unmannerly comment of the prince, "they would not have been thus easily broken."[†]

The lingering hostilities with Sforza were terminated to mutual advantage by a treaty concluded at Lodi in the spring of 1454, in which he was acknowledged Duke of Milan. This peace was no doubt accele-

* Lib. viii. p. 198.

† The visit of Frederic is described by Sanuto, *op. Murat.* xii. 1143, *Stabellico*, Dec. iii. lib. 7, p. 690, and P. Justiniani, lib. viii. p. 198. The last anecdote given above we have not traced beyond Langier, vol. vii. lib. xxv. p. 41, and Daru, vol. ii. lib. xvi. p. 549.

rated by the fearful state of the East ; for all Christendom had been shaken to its base by the overwhelming triumph of the Turks, and their establishment in permanent dominion at Constantinople upon the ruins of the A. D. 1453. Greek empire. Even during his preparation for the siege of the imperial city, the second Mahomet had clearly evinced that his sword was little prepared to respect neutrality ; and the wreck of a Venetian galley, which he sank with a single bullet for infringing his blockade of the Thracian Strait, and the mouldering bones of her commander whom he impaled, and of thirty of her crew whom he beheaded, fearfully attested the vengeance of the barbarian.* Among the 40,000 Christians who perished in the last memorable and fatal assault of Constantinople, many of noble Venetian descent were to be counted ; their *bailo* was dragged from his peaceful residence in Pera, and massacred in cold blood after the storm ; and, in the pillage and confiscation which ensued, the loss of the republic was estimated at 200,000 ducats. Far, however, from being inspired with the generous zeal which the holy see endeavoured, and in some instances not unsuccessfully, to rekindle against the infidels, Venice was the first Christian power which sought accommodation with Mahomet. Resentment was swallowed up by terror or by avarice ; and the merchant-queen, in order to preserve inviolate her Levantine commerce and her settlements in the Archipelago, was content to humble herself as the earliest suppliant at the footstool of the sultan. Her embassy was received with favour ; she was permitted to ransom A. D. 1454. her captives, to re-establish her factories in Pera, once again to waft riches in her traders to the ports of the empire, and to retain, as in the times of the Palæologi, the right of administering justice by her own magistrates to her own residents. In one object of negotiation she failed. The seamless vesture of the Redeemer was still found, or supposed to be found, in the reliquaries of Constantinople, and the great price of 10,000 ducats was tendered for it by Venice, and refused by the unbelievers.

But a few years before this holy purchase was contem-

* Gibbon, ch. lxviii. vol. xii. p. 194. We have referred to his authorities in vain ; but Sanuto has mentioned the impalement of the Venetian captain, *op. Murat.* xxii. 1150.

plated, the precious hoard of similar treasures already possessed by the republic had narrowly escaped dispersion. Among the suite of a prince of the house of Este, indulged, according to custom, with an inspection of the wonders of the treasury of St. Mark's, was a Candian named Stammato, in whose bosom the sacred spectacle awakened more desire than veneration. Watching his opportunity, and closely noticing the localities of the spot, this ingenious plunderer secreted himself behind an altar in the body of the cathedral, and when discovered in this first hiding-place by a priest, obtained fresh access by means of false keys. After numerous difficulties, and by the labour of many successive nights, he removed one compartment of the marble panelling which girded the lower part of the treasury. Having thus gained access at will to its interior, he carefully replaced the panel, leaving it removable at pleasure ; and, renewing his nightly visits, he selected, without fear and without suspicion, such portions of the entire spoil at his command as most gratified his fancy. It was doubtless a lust for gold which allured him in the first instance to the *beretta* of the doge, studded with gems of inestimable price ; but nothing short of an insatiate love of virtù could have prompted him to secure the accredited horn of a unicorn, too cumbrous for removal while entire, and requiring the tedious process of the saw before it could be borne away. More fortunate than the Egyptian robber, whose bold exploit, perpetrated under very similar circumstances, must have already suggested itself to every reader of Herodotus,* Stammato, but for his vanity, might have enriched himself, and escaped to his native shores unharmed and undetected. Simply to possess this boundless wealth, however, appeared but little in his eyes ; for its full enjoyment it became necessary that another should know of his possession. Accordingly, having exacted a solemn oath of secrecy from one of his countrymen, Grioni, a Candian of noble birth, he led him to an obscure lodging,† and poured before the astonished eyes of his companion the dazzling fruits of his plunder. While the robber watched the countenance of his friend, he mistrusted the expression which passed across it ; and the

* II. 121.

† Perhaps the site may still be traced ; Sanuto notes it with precision, *nella Calle da Casa Salomone a Sta. Maria Formosa.*

etiletto was already in his grasp to ensure his safety, when Gironi averted the peril by stating that the first sight of so splendid a prize had wellnigh overpowered him. As a token of benevolence, perhaps as a bribe, Stammato presented his unwilling accessory with a carbuncle, which afterward blazed in the front of the ducal bonnet; and Gironi, seeking excuse for a short absence, and bearing in his hand this well-known and incontestable evidence of his truth, hastened to the palace and denounced the criminal. The booty, which amounted to the scarcely credible sum of 2,000,000 ducats of gold, had not yet been missed, and was recovered undiminished. Stammato expiated his offence between the two columns; the rope with which he was executed having previously been gilt, in order that, like Crassus, he might exhibit in his death a memorial of the very passion which had seduced him to destruction.*

The reign of Francesco Foscari had now been prolonged to the unusual period of thirty-four years, and these years had in one respect at least fully verified the prophecy hazarded by his predecessor Moncenigo.

A. D.
1457.

They were marked by almost continual warfare; during which, however, the courage, the firmness, and the sagacity of the illustrious doge had won four rich provinces for his country, and increased her glory not less than her dominion. If we were to abide by the smooth narrative of the historiographer Sabellico, we might believe that the last days of this distinguished prince were given to a voluntary and honourable repose; and that, having attained the great age of 84 years, and being debarred by infirmity from dedicating himself to state affairs, he resigned the sceptre to a younger hand. We are told also that the gray-haired prince, having laid aside the insignia of sovereignty and retired to his former level of nobility, and retaining to the last, although in a shattered frame, the unextinguished vigour of a generous spirit, died a few days after the new accession. By a decree of the council, the trappings of supreme power of which he had divested himself while living, were restored to him when dead; and he was interred, with ducal mag-

* Sanuto, *op. Murat.* xxii. 1132. Sabellico, *Dec. lib. vi.* p. 677. P. Justiniani, *lib. viii.* p. 198. It is only by the last-named writer that the gilding of the rope is mentioned; Sanuto gives the official process drawn up by the Ten.

nificance, in the Church of the Minorites ; presenting the first instance on record, since the privilege of associating a joint chief magistrate had been abolished, in which one doge mourned at the funeral of another.* Such is the tale authorized by the Council of Ten, and which they commanded to be enrolled as history ; but a darker, and, it is to be feared, a truer version is to be drawn from sources more worthy of confidence ; and to the English reader it is one of the few portions of the Romance of Venetian History which does not bring with it the zest of novelty.

Ardent, enterprising, and ambitious of the glory of conquest, it was not without much opposition that Foscari had obtained the dogeship ; and he soon discovered that the throne which he had coveted with so great earnestness was far from being a seat of repose. Accordingly, at the peace of Ferrara, which in 1433 succeeded a calamitous war, foreseeing the approach of fresh and still greater troubles, and wearied by the factions which ascribed all disasters to the prince, he tendered his abdication to the senate, and was refused. A like offer was renewed by him when nine years further experience of sovereignty had confirmed his former estimate of its cares ; and the council, on this second occasion, much more from adherence to existing institutions than from any attachment to the person of the doge, accompanied their negative with the exaction of an oath that he would retain his burdensome dignity for life. Too early, alas ! was he to be taught that life, on such conditions, was the heaviest of curses ! Three out of his four sons were already dead ; to Giacopo, the survivor, he looked for the continuation of his name and the support of his declining age ; and from that youth's intermarriage with the illustrious house of Contarini, and the popular joy with which, it will be remembered, his nuptials were celebrated, the doge drew favourable auspices for future happiness. Four years, however, had scarcely elapsed from the conclusion of that well-omened marriage, when a series of calamities began, from which death alone was to relieve either the son or his yet more wretched father. In 1445, Giacopo Foscari was denounced to the Ten as having received presents from foreign potentates, and especially from Filippo-

* Sabellico, Dec. iii. lib. viii. p. 714.

Maria Visconti. The offence, according to the law, was one of the most heinous which a noble could commit; and we have before seen, in the proceedings against Carlo Zeno, how wide a circle was comprehended by the prohibitory statutes. Even if Giacopo were guiltless of infringing them, it was not easy to establish innocence before a Venetian tribunal. Under the eyes of his own father, compelled to preside at the unnatural examination, a confession was extorted from the prisoner on the rack; and from the lips of that father he received the sentence which banished him for life to Napoli di Romania, compelled him to appear once every day before the governor of that settlement, and adjudged him to death if he attempted escape. On his passage, severe illness delayed him at Trieste; and, at the especial prayer of the doge, a less remote district was assigned for his punishment; he was permitted to reside at Treviso, and his wife was allowed to participate his exile.

It was in the commencement of the winter of 1450, while Giacopo Foscari rested, in comparative tranquillity, within the bounds to which he was restricted, that an assassination occurred in the streets of Venice. Hermolao Donato, the *provveditore* whom Sforza took prisoner at Caravaggia, and who now filled the more important post of a chief of the Ten, was murdered on his return from a sitting of that council at his own door by unknown hands. The magnitude of the offence, and the violation of the high dignity of the Ten, demanded a victim; and the coadjutors of the slain magistrate caught with eager grasp at the slightest clew which suspicion could afford. A domestic in the service of Giacopo Foscari had been seen in Venice on the evening of the murder, and on the following morning, when met in a boat off Mestre by a chief of the Ten, and asked "What news?" he had answered by reporting the assassination several hours before it was generally known. It might seem that such frankness of itself disproved all participation in the crime; for the author of it was not likely thus unseasonably and prematurely to disclose its committal. But the Ten thought differently; and matters which to others bore conviction of innocence, to them savoured strongly of guilt. The servant was arrested, examined, and barbarously tortured; but even the eightieth

application of the strappado failed to elicit one syllable which might justify condemnation. That Giacopo Foscari had experienced the severity of the council's judgment, and that its jealous watchfulness was daily imposing some new restraint upon his father's authority, powerfully operated to convince the Ten that they must themselves in return be objects of his deadly enmity. Who else, they said, could be more likely to arm the hand of an assassin against a chief of the Ten, than one whom the Ten have visited with punishment? On this unjust and unsupported surmise, the young Foscari was recalled from Treviso, placed on the rack which his servant had just vacated, tortured again in his father's presence, and not absolved even after he resolutely persisted in denying unto the end. "Giacopo Foscari," as the memorable sentence pronounced against him, still existing among the archives of Venice, declares, "accused of the murder of Hermolao Donato, has been arrested and examined, and, from the testimony, evidence, and documents exhibited, *it distinctly appears* that he is guilty of the aforesaid crime; nevertheless, on account of his obstinacy, and of *enchantments and spells* in his possession, of which there are *manifest proofs*, it has not been possible to extract from him the truth which is clear from parole and written evidence; for while he was on the cord he uttered neither word nor groan, but only murmured somewhat to himself indistinctly and under his breath; therefore, *as the honour of the state requires*, he is condemned to a more distant banishment in Candia." There, the acuteness of his mental and bodily sufferings produced temporary loss of reason; a short abode in Venice was permitted for its restoration, and he was then remanded to his former exile. Will it be credited that a distinct proof of his innocence, obtained by the discovery of the real assassin, wrought no change in his unjust and cruel sentence—that he was enjoined still to remain at Canea, although Nicolo Erizzo, a noble infamous for other crimes which Donato had punished, confessed to the priest who ministered to him on his death-bed, that it was beneath his dagger the murdered counsellor had fallen?

The wrongs, however, which Giacopo Foscari endured had by no means chilled the passionate love with which he continued to regard his ungrateful country. He was now

excluded from all communication with his family, torn from the wife of his affections, debarred from the society of his children, hopeless of again embracing those parents who had already far outstripped the natural term of human existence; and to his imagination, for ever centering itself upon the single desire of return, life presented no other object deserving pursuit; till, for the attainment of this wish, life itself at length appeared to be scarcely more than an adequate sacrifice. Preyed upon by this fever of the heart, after six years' unavailing suit for a remission of punishment, in the summer of 1456 he addressed a letter to the Duke of Milan, imploring his good offices with the senate. That letter, purposely left open in a place obvious to the spies by whom even in his exile he was surrounded, and afterward intrusted to an equally treacherous hand for delivery to Sforza, was conveyed, as the writer intended, to the Council of Ten; and the result, which equally fulfilled his expectation, was a hasty summons to Venice to answer for the heavy crime of soliciting foreign intercession with his native government.

For a third time, Francesco Foscari listened to the accusation of his son—for the first time he heard him openly avow the charge of his accusers, and calmly state that his offence, such as it was, had been committed designedly and aforethought, with the sole object of detection, in order that he might be brought back, even as a malefactor, to Venice. This prompt and voluntary declaration, however, was not sufficient to decide the nice hesitation of his judges. Guilt, they said, might be too easily admitted as well as too pertinaciously denied; and the same process therefore by which at other times confession was wrested from the hardened criminal might now compel a too facile self-accuser to retract his acknowledgment. The father again looked on while his son was raised on the accursed cord no less than thirty times, in order that, under his agony, he might be induced to utter a lying declaration of innocence. But this cruelty was exercised in vain; and when nature gave way the sufferer was carried to the apartments of the doge, torn, bleeding, senseless, and dislocated, but firm in his original purpose. Nor had his persecutors relaxed in *theirs*; they renewed his sentence of exile, and added that its first year should be passed in prison. Before he embarked, one

interview was permitted with his family. The doge, as Sanuto, perhaps unconscious of the pathos of his simplicity, has narrated, was an aged and decrepit man, who walked with the support of a crutch, and when he came into the chamber, he spake with great firmness, so that it might seem it was not his son whom he was addressing, but it *was* his son—his only son. "Go, Giacopo," was his reply, when prayed for the last time to solicit mercy; "Go, Giacopo, submit to the will of your country, and seek nothing further." This effort of self-restraint was beyond the powers, not of the old man's enduring spirit, but of his exhausted frame; and when he retired he swooned in the arms of his attendants. Giacopo reached his Candian prison, and was shortly afterward released by death.

Francesco Foscari, far less happy in his survival, continued to live on, but it was in sorrow and feebleness which prevented attention to the duties of his high office: he remained secluded in his chamber, never went abroad, and absented himself even from the sittings of the councils. No practical inconvenience could result from this want of activity in the chief magistrate; for the constitution sufficiently provided against any accidental suspension of his personal functions, and his place in council and on state occasions was supplied by an authorized deputy. Some indulgence, moreover, might be thought due to the extreme age and domestic griefs of Foscari; since they appeared to promise that any favour which might be granted would be claimed but for a short period. But yet further trials were in store. Giacopo Loredano, who in 1467 was appointed one of the chiefs of the Ten, belonged to a family between which and that of Foscari an hereditary feud had long existed. His uncle Pietro, after gaining high distinction in active service, as Admiral of Venice, on his return to the capital, headed the political faction which opposed the warlike projects of the doge; divided applause with him by his eloquence in the councils; and so far extended his influence as frequently to obtain majorities in their divisions. In an evil moment of impatience, Foscari once publicly avowed in the senate, that so long as Pietro Loredano lived he should never feel himself really to be doge. Not long afterward, the admiral, engaged as *provveditore* with one of the armies opposed to Filippo-Maria, died suddenly at a

military banquet given after a short suspension of arms ; and the evil-omened words of Foscari were connected with his disease. It was remarked also that his brother Marco Loredano, one of the *avvogaderi*, died, in a somewhat similar manner, while engaged in instituting a legal process against a son-in-law of the doge for peculation upon the state. The foul rumours partially excited by these untoward coincidences, for they appear in truth to have been no more, met with little acceptance, and were rejected or forgotten except by a single bosom. Giacompo, the son of one, the nephew of the other deceased Loredano, gave full credit to the accusation, inscribed on his father's tomb at Sta. Elena that he died by poison, bound himself by a solemn vow to the most deadly and unrelenting pursuit of revenge, and fulfilled that vow to the uttermost.

During the lifetime of Pietro Loredano, Foscari, willing to terminate the feud by domestic alliance, had tendered the hand of his daughter to one of his rival's sons. The youth saw his proffered bride, openly expressed dislike of her person, and rejected her with marked discourtesy ; so that, in the quarrel thus heightened, Foscari might now conceive himself to be the most injured party. Not such was the impression of Giacompo Loredano ; year after year he grimly awaited the season most fitted for his unbending purpose ; and it arrived at length when he found himself in authority among the Ten. Relying upon the ascendancy belonging to that high station, he hazarded a proposal for the deposition of the aged doge, which was at first, however, received with coldness ; for those who had twice before refused a voluntary abdication, shrank from the strange contradiction of now demanding one on compulsion. A junta was required to assist in their deliberations, and among the assessors elected by the great council, in complete ignorance of the purpose for which they were needed, was Marco Foscari, a *procuratore* of St. Mark, and brother of the doge himself. The Ten perceived that to reject his assistance might excite suspicion, while to procure his apparent approbation would give a show of impartiality to their process ; his nomination, therefore, was accepted, but he was removed to a separate apartment, excluded from the debate, sworn to keep that exclusion secret, and yet compelled to assent to the final decree in the discussion of which he had

not been allowed to participate. The council sat during eight days and nearly as many nights ; and at the close of their protracted meetings a committee was deputed to *request* the abdication of the doge. The old man received them with surprise, but with composure, and replied that he had sworn not to abdicate, and therefore must maintain his faith. It was not possible that he could resign ; but if it appeared fit to their wisdom that he should cease to be doge, they had it in their power to make a proposal to that effect to the Great Council. It was far, however, from the intention of the Ten to subject themselves to the chances of debate in that larger body ; and assuming to their own magistracy a prerogative not attributed to it by the constitution, they discharged Foscari from his oath, declared his office vacant, assigned to him a pension of 2000 ducats, and enjoined him to quit the palace within three days, on pain of confiscation of all his property. Loredano, to whom the right belonged, according to the weekly routine of office, enjoyed the barbarous satisfaction of presenting this decree with his own hand. " Who are you, signor ? " inquired the doge of another chief of the Ten who accompanied him, and whose person he did not immediately recognise. " I am a son of Marco Memmo. " — " Ah, your father, " replied Foscari, " is my friend. " Then declaring that he yielded willing obedience to the most excellent Council of Ten, and laying aside the ducal bonnet and robes, he surrendered his ring of office, which was broken in his presence. On the morrow, when he prepared to leave the palace, it was suggested to him that he should retire by a private staircase, and thus avoid the concourse assembled in the court-yard below. With calm dignity he refused the proposition ; he would descend, he said, by no other than the self-same steps by which he had mounted thirty years before. Accordingly, supported by his brother, he slowly traversed the Giant's Stairs, and at their foot, leaning on his staff, and turning round to the palace, he accompanied his last look to it with these parting words, " My services established me within your walls ; it is the malice of my enemies which tears me from them ! "

It was to the oligarchy alone that Foscari was obnoxious ; by the populace he had always been beloved, and strange indeed would it have been had he now failed to excite their

sympathy. But even the regrets of the people of Venice were fettered by their tyrants; and whatever pity they might secretly continue to cherish for their wronged and humiliated prince, all expression of it was silenced by a peremptory decree of the council, forbidding any mention of his name, and annexing death as a penalty to disobedience. On the fifth day after Foscari's deposition PASCALE MALPIERI was elected doge. The dethroned prince heard the announcement of his successor by the bell of the *Campante*, suppressed his agitation, but ruptured a blood-vessel in the exertion, and died in a few hours. It is said that when the close of this piteous tragedy was declared to Loredano, who, like most other nobles of his time, was engaged in commerce, he took down one of his ledgers and turned to a blank leaf. Opposite to that page was an entry in his own writing among his list of debtors, "Francesco Foscari for the death of my father and my uncle." The balance was now adjusted; he wrote on the other side. "He has paid me," and closed the account of blood!*

* Sanuto (*op. Murat. xli.*) is our main authority for the sad tale of the Foscari, and it may be right to notice a few trifling particulars in which we have differed from some modern writers of eminence.

M. de Sismondi (*Rep. Ital. x. 41*) places the doge's second wish to abdicate *after* the condemnation of his son in 1450, and calls him 85 years of age at the time of his death.—(46.) Sanuto fixes that offer of resignation in 1448, and the epitaph on Foscari's monument declares him to have died at 84.

For the fine incident—*P ha pagata*—we are indebted to Daru (ii. 529), who cites Palazzi (*Fasti Ducales*) and Viandolo, by neither of whom have we been able to find the fact supported. Daru also states Giacopo Loredano to have been the son of Pistro.—(528.) By Vettor Sandi (*lib. viii. p. 716*) he is called his *nephew*. The pension assigned by the Ten was 2000 ducats, the time for quitting the palace three days, according to Sanuto; Daru makes the former 1500, the latter eight: but he had access to a manuscript document, among the archives of Venice, apparently of high authority, and this may explain his variations.

Lord Byron, in his Tragedy, *The Two Foscari*, a play in which the ruggedness of execution is far from being compensated by beauties of conception, has not ventured upon further deviation from historical truth than is fully authorized by the license of the drama. We may remark, however, that there is no voucher by which Loredano is proved to have been an agent in the persecution of Giacopo Foscari in 1456, and that he did not become a *Capo de' Dieci* till the following year; that Giacopo's death occurred, not at Venice, but at Canea; that fifteen months elapsed between his last condemnation and his father's deposition; that after he had been tortured he was removed to the ducal apartments, not to one of the *pozzi*; and that the death of the elder Foscari took place,

To the reign of Foscari may now be attributed with certainty the organization of that portentous tribunal composed of the three inquisitors of the state. The origin of that body, no less than its proceedings, was long involved in hopeless mystery, till the laborious research of the late Comte Daru unrolled the manuscript statutes in the Royal Library at Paris; and brought to light a decree of the Grand Council also, bearing date the 16th June, 1454, by which the Ten, in consequence of the difficulty found in assembling their members with sufficient promptitude on every occasion on which their services might be requisite, are authorized to choose three persons under the above title; two (*I Neri*) from their own council, one (*Il Rosso*) from that of the doge; the former consequently to exercise their functions for a year, the latter for eight months, the periods of their respective original counsellorships. The powers granted by the Ten are briefly stated in a second decree of their own, passed three days afterward. By that ordinance the inquisitors were invested with all the plenary authority possessed by their electors, over every person of what degree soever, in the republic, be he citizen, noble, magistrate, ecclesiastic, or even one of the Ten themselves; over all individuals; in a word, who should in any way expose themselves to merited punishment. The penalties which they might inflict were left solely to their own discretion, and extended to death, either by public or secret execution. Each member singly might take all steps preparatory to judgment, but a definitive sentence could be pronounced only by their unanimous voices. The terrific dungeons, whether under the leaden roofs (*I Piombi*), or beneath the level of the canals, in the hollowed walls of the palace (*I Pozzi*), were placed at their disposal; they held the keys of the treasury of the Ten without being accountable for the sums which

not at the palace, but in his own house; not immediately on his descent from the Giant's Stairs, but five days afterward.

Mr. Rogers, in the notes upon his very striking version of this melancholy story in his *Italy*, has fallen into two slight errors, which we might pass unnoticed if it were not for the deserved popularity of the poem. Loredano, he says, was "one of the invisible three," that is, one of the state inquisitors. There is not any ground for this assertion, and from the constitution of that dark tribunal, none of the inquisitors were ever known. Again he says, and refers to Sanuto as his authority, that the doge Foscari died while at mass; Sanuto only says that Malipieri, his successor, was at mass when he received the account of Foscari's death.

they might draw from it ; all governors, commanders, and ambassadors on foreign stations were enjoined implicit obedience to their mandates ; they were permitted to frame their own statutes, with the power of altering, rescinding, or adding to them from time to time ; and effectually to guard against the chief hazard by which their secrecy might be violated, no *papalista*, that is, no one who had an ecclesiastic among his near connexions, or was at all interested in the court of Rome, was eligible as an Inquisitor of State, even although he might belong to the Ten.

Of a tribunal whose chief elements were secrecy and terror, little that was authentic could be known, still less was likely to be spoken. By foreign writers, accordingly, it has for the most part been neglected or misrepresented ; by native Venetians it has been approached with wary steps, and quitted with trembling haste ; as if those who lingered within its precincts dreaded to become entangled within its grasp. The chief civil historian of Venice speaks briefly of its mysterious constitution, of the veneration due to it by all citizens, of the breach of duty which any attempt to penetrate its obscurity would involve ; and he concludes by declaring "with sincerity and simplicity, to the glory of this august tribunal, that if Rome, so admirable in the rest of her polity, had established a similar magistracy, she would still exist, secure from the corruptions which occasioned her dissolution."* A slight glance, for we can attempt no more, at a few of the principal enactments of this most atrocious court, will evince the due value which may be placed on the above panegyric. These decrees are the only ordinances reduced to writing in which a legislative body has ever dared to erect a code upon the avowed basis of perfidy and assassination. Never yet did the principle of ill establish so free a traffic for the interchange of crime, so unrestricted a mart in which mankind might barter their iniquity ; never was the committal of certain and irremediable evil so fully authorized for the chance of questionable and ambiguous good ; never was every generous emotion of moral instinct, every accredited maxim of social duty so debased and subjugated to the baneful yoke of an assumed political expediency. The statutes of the Venetian Inqui-

* V. Sandi, *Storia Civile di Venezia*, vol. ii. p. li. l. 8. p. 5.

sition of State, now exposed to the general eye, exceed every other product of human wickedness in premeditated, deliberate; systematic, unmixed, undissembled flagitiousness.

This code, entirely written in the autograph of one of the inquisitors, was deposited in a casket of which each of the three magistrates by turns kept the key. In the outset it declared that every process of the tribunal was for ever to be preserved secret, and that no inquisitor should betray that he was such by any outward sign, but everywhere constantly maintain the character of a merely private individual; since the advantage with which the state could be served was considered to be strictly proportionate to the mystery in which this tribunal was enveloped. Hence its citations, arrests, and other instruments were to be issued in the name of the Ten, its examinations conducted, its judgments pronounced by the mouths of secretaries. Even if an accused party after arrest should escape condemnation (a rare event!) he was to learn his acquittal and release, not by a direct sentence, but by a surly rebuke from his jailer—"What are you doing there? out with you!" was the greeting with which the turnkey entered the cell of a prisoner about to be restored to liberty. Spies (*raccordanti*, a smooth and gentle title) were to be procured with the utmost diligence from every class, artisans, citizens, nobles, and religious; and their rewards were to be adjusted in such manner as might rather perpetually excite than absolutely satiate expectation. The nice sensitiveness of honour which this Judas-band might be supposed to cherish, was respected with peculiar delicacy. Should they be taunted (*moteggiati*) by any one in terms which might impair their zeal or prevent the addiction of others to similar employment, or should they even be called "spies of the state inquisitors," the person so naming them was to be arrested, tortured till he revealed the method by which he obtained this dangerous knowledge, and punished afterward at the discretion of the tribunal.

Four at least of these agents, each unknown to the other, and all selected from the inferior classes, were to watch every ambassador resident in Venice; and the numerous provisions respecting the observation of foreign ministers were singularly precise. The great object appears to have been

the prevention of intercourse between them and the native nobility. The first attempt of the spies was always to be made upon their secretaries, to whom a large monthly stipend might be promised solely for the revelation of any secret commerce between their masters and a noble; the fittest persons through whom these overtures could be made were monks and Jews, both of whom it is said gain admission everywhere.* If an ordinary spy proved insufficient to penetrate the diplomatic secrets, some Venetian condemned to banishment was instructed to take asylum in the ambassador's palace; immunity from the pursuit of government being promised for the time, and a future recompense also proportioned to his discoveries. The asylum in the above instance was manifestly a pretext; but as the privilege was really allowed by the law of nations, it was often claimed in earnest; and in these cases the inquisitors resolved that if the offence for which the criminal sought refuge were slight, all knowledge of his hiding-place should be dissembled; but if of graver hue, every means should be taken to arrest, or if these were unsuccessful to assassinate him. If the fugitive were a noble, however trifling might be his fault, he should be assassinated without a moment's hesitation.† Whenever a foreign ambassador should solicit pardon for an exile, due care must be taken to examine into the character of the party; and if he prove to be of mean condition, loose morals, and narrow circumstances, (how well did these children of the tempter understand what spirits were most open to their wiles!) it was probable that he might be gained as a spy. Propositions therefore should be made to him to *superintend* the establishment of the ambassador; to whom, on account of the favour conferred on him, he would be likely to obtain familiar access; and whom accordingly, under an appearance of gratitude, he might the more readily betray. If any noble should report to the inquisitors proposals made to him by an ambassador, he should be authorized to continue the treasonable negotiation until the intermediate agent could be seized in the very act: then, provided it were not the ambassador himself or the secretary of legation, but some minor agent, of whose quality and

* *Che sono persone che facilmente trattano con tutti.*—St. XII.

† *Sia fatto assassinare sollecitamente.*—St. XXX.

person ignorance might be pretended, he was to be immediately drowned.

Especially favourable opportunities for observation might be found, it was said, whenever an ambassador was making choice of a residence. It was already an established law, that if a foreign minister negotiated with a nobleman for his house, the owner must not complete his bargain without first obtaining permission from the Ten, who prescribed to him the fit method of conducting his treaty without holding the slightest forbidden intercourse with the stranger. But, for still greater security, each inquisitor now resolved to examine separately and with the utmost particularity every house intended as the abode of a foreign minister, in order to determine whether any secret communication could be established with the adjoining tenements; and whether its roof were level with those of its neighbours, so that persons might pass from one to the other. If such were the case, and the house next door were occupied by a noble owner, he was to be *advised* to quit, and to let it to some one of an inferior class; and if he has a grain of good sense, says the statute, he will understand and obey. If a noble only rented the adjoining premises, he was at once to be commanded to dislodge, and his place was to be supplied by a spy; the expenses of whose establishment, if necessary, should be defrayed by the tribunal. Snares were also laid for the lighter and more unguarded moments of the representatives of friendly powers; and if a spy could discover any amatory intercourse, he was instructed to connect himself by similar ties with the favourite mistress of the ambassador; under a plea of jealousy to conceal himself in her apartments; and thus to ascertain whether they were frequented by any Venetian noble. If they were so, the inquisitors would determine from the general character of the visiter whether he were a person likely to divert such a rendezvous to other intrigues than those of gallantry. On satisfactorily determining his innocence, they would be content to warn him of indiscretion, and to prohibit him by menace of severe punishment from the further maintenance of so hazardous an intercourse.

The envoy of the holy see, and, in later times, that of Spain also, were watched more closely by the inquisitors than those of other states. Any ambassador of the repub-

he to the Vatican, who should accept an ecclesiastical appointment, either for himself or for any connexion, was to be subject, besides all other statutable penalties, to confiscation of the revenues of his benefice, and if he dared to appeal to Rome he was to be assassinated secretly and instantly. The palace of the nuncio in Venice was regarded with ceaseless suspicion, for the ecclesiastics always successfully maintained their privilege of free access to its walls; therefore the most jealous vigilance was exercised; and it was recommended that some ecclesiastic, distinguished for subtlety, for needy circumstances, and for *patriotic zeal*, some "bishop in *partibus*" for example, should be selected to win the confidence of the nuncio; and from time to time, under pretext of important disclosures, to pour into his ear a succession of false advices, adapted to the views of government and the circumstances of the moment. As a check to undue freedom of conversation among the nuncio's suite, if any one attached to it should presume to canvass forbidden subjects, such as the limits of secular authority over ecclesiastical persons, and other matters of similar description, he was to be immediately assassinated; care at the same time being taken to let it be well known by whose directions and on what account the blow had been inflicted. Such Venetian prelates as were sufficiently hardy to propound like maxims *within* the palace, were to be registered in a book containing the names of *ecclesiastici poco accetti*; and all possible means were to be employed to entangle them in vexatious lawsuits, by raising up claims, however ill-founded, upon their benefices, and by sequestering their revenues, till they should have sagacity enough to discover the reason for these processes, and to repent their inadvertence. If they babbled *without* the palace, they were to be carried off secretly and subjected to long confinement; and whenever they persisted in contumacy after these sequestrations and tedious imprisonments, measures of the uttermost rigour were to be employed; since it is only by the knife and the cautery (*ferro e fuoco*) that an inveterate disease can be exterminated. Notwithstanding the bold attitude with which the Venetian government confronted the encroachments of the papacy, it is plain, upon a comparison of the ordinances affecting laics with that directed against ecclesiastics, that

the latter were regarded with a tenderness not extended to the former, however dignified might be their station.

Another proceeding, seemingly directed in an especial manner against Spain, and therefore belonging to a considerably later period than the first appointment of the Inquisition of State, exceeds in complicated iniquity any of those which we have as yet noticed. Reports, it was said, were often submitted to the tribunal that unknown or masked persons, by night or during the carnival, made overtures from the government of Spain to certain nobles: The persons thus invited, by promising their decision at a future interview, gained time to inform the inquisitors; to whom they likewise tendered their services for the assassination of the agent, provided they might be allowed to carry pistols, against the usage of which in the streets of Venice a standing law existed. Many reasons concurred to induce the rejection of this proposal; but it was thought advisable that the episcopal spy before noticed should whisper to the nuncio that it had been accepted; with a full confidence that the nuncio in turn would transmit the intelligence to the Spanish ambassador, who might in consequence be deterred by the peril of his emissary from continuing the intrigue. Nevertheless, as the statute reasons, the ministers employed by crowned heads are, for the most part, too subtle and sagacious to be thus easily cajoled; and it is probable, therefore, that the real nature of the device will be suspected: so that in order to give it a colouring of truth, which may produce the same effect as truth itself, recourse must be had to the following process: The inquisitors must find out some banished Venetian, who has eluded his sentence, and continues to reside in the city; taking care that he be a person of more than ordinary capacity and consideration. Then, selecting from their spies a nobleman of attested courage, and *who is actually a member of the senate at the time*, they must instruct him to assassinate the exile; and afterward, but with some ostentation of secrecy, to boast of his exploit, adding that it was committed in consequence of a treasonable overture from Spain which the murdered man ventured to propose. Again, after the lapse of a few more days, he was to announce that he had received full pardon for the deed of blood. The ambassador, well knowing that the person killed was

not one of his agents, would at once imagine that the noble had made a false representation to the inquisitors, and had assumed public motives for the revenge of some private quarrel; but perceiving also that the assassin had been pardoned in consequence of his fidelity under the pretended temptation, he would desist from any real intrigue, through a conviction that similar indulgence would again be extended to a similar murder. In order to prevent any suspicion of collusion, the man was to be killed, not with pistols, but with the stiletto; and if he were an exile who at any time had sought asylum in the ambassador's palace, it would be very much to the purpose (*sarebbe anco molto più a proposito*); since it might then be supposed that, although without previous sanction, he really did make the pretended overture, in order that, if the negotiation ripened, he might claim merit for it with his patron and protector.

The method recommended to countervail the influence of any foreign statesman hostile to the interests of Venice is not indeed so bloody as that just detailed, but it is equally insidious. Every Venetian noble on his return from an embassy formally reported to the senate all matters connected with his recent mission, and under the circumstances above mentioned he was instructed to interweave in this official document a notice that he had bribed the obnoxious minister in question; who had promised entire devotion to the service of Venice hereafter, with the sole proviso that, for greater secrecy, his conversion must apparently be gradual. Care was to be taken that this report went forth to the public, and was conveyed to the court most concerned in it by its own ambassador, by some enemy of the denounced, or, with yet greater certainty, by charging the episcopal spy to deliver it with much affectation of mystery to the nuncio, from whom it would immediately find conveyance to those ears by which the inquisitors most desired it should be believed: and thus would effectually destroy the weight of the individual whose reputation it was intended to undermine.

To pass to regulations of domestic polity. Every morning, after a sitting of the Great Council, the inquisitors were to assemble and to discuss the fortunes, habits, and characters of such nobles as had been appointed to any offices of state. Two spies, mutually unknown, were to be attached

to any of those upon whom suspicion might rest, to follow all their steps, and to report all their actions. If those emissaries should fail to discover any thing of moment, a more dexterous person was to be selected to visit the noble by night, and to offer him a bribe from some foreign ambassador for a betrayal of the secrets of the council. Even if he withstood that trial, but did not immediately denounce the overture, he was to be registered in a *Libro de' Sospetti*, and ever afterward to be carefully observed. If any noble not under sentence of exile should enter into the service of a foreign court, he was to be recalled home; on disobedience, his relations were to be imprisoned; after two months' contumacy, he was to be assassinated wherever he could be found; or, that attempt failing, to be erased from the Golden Book. A very similar process was employed against artisans who exported with them any native manufacture. Should any noble, while speaking in the senate or the Grand Council, wander from his subject into matters deemed prejudicial to the state, he was to be immediately interrupted by one of the chiefs of the Ten. In case the orator disputed this authority, or said any thing injurious to it, no notice was to be taken at the moment; but he was to be arrested on the close of the sitting, tried according to his offence, and, if direct means of conviction were unattainable, to be put to death privately. As freedom of debate in the legislative bodies was thus narrowly limited, it can be no matter of surprise that restraint was imposed upon conversation elsewhere. A noble guilty of indiscretion of speech was to be twice admonished; on the third offence, to be prohibited from appearing in the public streets or councils for two years; if he disobeyed, or if he relapsed after the two years (*tornasse a vomito* is the strong expression of the original), he was to be drowned as incorrigible. In order to obtain notice of these derelictions, the noble spies sedulously watched all members of their own class in their assemblies on the *Broglio*,* the arcade under the

*The *Broglio* may be considered the Exchange of the Venetian nobility, in which they brought their votes to market, and *far Broglio* with them answered precisely to the commercial phrase to be on 'Change. No one of inferior rank was permitted to intrude within its precincts while frequented by the nobles, and separate walks were conventionally set apart for the different classes among themselves. The popular deriva-

ducal palace which was their privileged resort; the early morning hours were judged to be most favourable for these observations, because the promenade being less frequented at that time, greater license, it was thought, might then be hazarded.

Upon the honour of a class of men thus debased by mutual treachery, little reliance could be placed by the government which taught them to betray, and which therefore indeed possessed the fullest means of estimating their venality. Accordingly, we find most severe penalties attached to an offence, suspicion of which could not affect the nobility of any other country than Venice. Fraudulent balloting was punished with six years' confinement in the *Piombi*, succeeded by as many more of exclusion from the council; and a repetition of the crime, with death.* Another ordinance affecting the patricians affords a lamentable portrait of the insecurity of Venetian society during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Many nobles, it appears, were in the habit of summoning individuals, at pleasure, before private tribunals in their own palaces; here, some were ordered to make payments to pretended creditors, some to be reconciled to persons from whom they had suffered injury, others to forbear from suits of law which they were prosecuting; and, in furtherance of these several oppressive and illegal demands, the self-constituted magistrate frequently employed menaces and blows, occasionally capital execution. The offender, if he had confined himself to threats only, was to be severely reprimanded and

*sen imbrogliare, to embroll, to cabal, very justly characterized this mart of corruption; but Sansovino gives one much more recondite. The whole of the Piazza di San Marco was once, he says, the Brolo, or Garden, of the monks of S. Zaccaria; "dalla qual voce Brolo naeque quese' altra di Broglie ò Brogio, significativa di quelle ceremonie e di quelle instanti preghiere che fanno i nobili l' uno con altro quando ricercano d' ottenere qualche magistrato nella republica; perciocchè stando ne' tempi antichi, all' usanza dei Candidati Romani, in Piazza, per ricercar del suffragio suo chi passava, chiamata Broglie, si nominò quell' atto dal luogo, e si disse far Broio."—Venetia descritta, lib. 1. f. 98, ed. 1614. Sp. Burnet says that Guy Patin suggested to him the far-fetched Greek *τροβόλαιον*.*

* Daru mentions an ancient law by which more summary punishment was inflicted upon this offence. Any voter detected in dropping more than a single ball into the urn might be thrown out of window. Vol. v. liv. xxxv. p. 316, note.

placed under observation : if he relapsed, he was to be imprisoned for at least three years in the *Piombi* ; and on a third conviction, he was to be drowned. But if, in the first instance, he had proceeded to acts of violence, his immediate punishment was to be proportioned to his degree of crime. The penalty awarded might be death, and to render the example more impressive, this might be inflicted publicly ; notwithstanding another statute which expressly declared, that whenever death was considered necessary, the scandal of open display should be avoided by drowning the malefactor privately in the *Canale Orfano*.*

In two cases only was the interference of any other portion of the government permitted. If one of the inquisitors themselves were denounced, a supplementary inquisitor was named from the Ten to assist his two brethren, and on an accusation of one of the chiefs of the Ten, three assessors from that council were selected, and five voices were necessary for his condemnation ; if death were the penalty adjudged in this instance, it was recommended that it should be inflicted by poison, rather than by any other mode. The doge was exempt from citation before the inquisitors, and if subjected to a reprimand, it was delivered to him in his private apartments. In cases which affected officers of the arsenal, due regard was always to be paid to the great utility of their profession. For the treatment of persons offensive to government, but of superior influence, whom it might not therefore be prudent to dismiss after they had been irritated by arrest, and whom it might be equally impolitic to put to death, even privately, on account of the power of their connexions, a convenient *mezzo termine* was suggested. The jailer was instructed to pretend willingness to favour the prisoner's escape, and, on the

* The Venetians assert that in the *Laguna*, at the back of San Giorgio Maggiore, the *Canale Orfano*, originally dell' *Arco*, received its name after the defeat of Pepin, in A. D. 804 (vol. i. p. 13), by which all the children of Lombardy were made orphans. The author of that very rare tract the *Squittinio della Libertà Veneta* rejects this notion, and treats it as a *cosa da ridere*. Etymologists, he says, had better trace the name to *Orfneo*, *Orfino*, *Orfino*, or *Orfno*, all which words in Greek (meaning thereby ὀφθαλμός) signify black, dark, obscure ; epithets which may reasonably be assigned to a canal of very dangerous navigation, without any forced reference to the fable of Pepin's defeat. Greek derivations, he adds, can be by no means strange to Venice.—G. M. ad ann. 804.

evening before he released him, he was to administer with his last meal a poison of slow effect and leaving no trace of its action ; so that whenever death ensued, it was not likely that it would be charged upon the inquisitors. By such means, as this statute concludes, shall we satisfy both public and private duty, and justice will attain the end at which she aims, through a way somewhat more circuitous indeed than usual, but also more secure.

A similar tone of high moral reflection pervades the instructions to the governors of Cyprus and Candia. If there were any persons of noble birth or of superior influence resident in those islands, who, it was thought, might be better out of the way (*stasse ben morto*), they were to be despatched secretly, provided the magistrate felt in his conscience that he could not proceed otherwise, and was able to answer for the act before God, with entire sincerity. So nicely shaded and graduated also were the various species of possible offence, so delicately weighed and balanced were the proportions of contingent crime, that any one who engaged to arrest or assassinate an exile could not be paid by grace accorded to another exile, unless the arrested or assassinated were equally guilty with his companion in banishment. Thus also, if a banished state-criminal sought pardon by proffering like services, the inquisitors were to determine whether the murdered were inferior or superior in guilt to the murderer ; if the former, the assassin might be rewarded, but he could by no means obtain an entire remission of punishment.

The operation of these most execrable statutes will frequently cast dark shadows over our future pages ; and we return, not unwillingly, to a more active narrative, from this digression, which, although perhaps long, is still necessary for the elucidation of numerous leading principles in the constitution of Venice. To the professed historian, however, we must relinquish the ungrateful task of recording in detail the many enormities which deform a war with the Turks, to a rapid view of which we are about to direct ourselves. The wise policy of Sforza, since his acquisition of the duchy of Milan, maintained, with a few unimportant exceptions, a steady peace throughout the states in his vicinity, during the remainder of his life, and even for twenty years beyond it ; and for awhile, therefore,

we may turn from the busy scenes by which Italy has been so long agitated, to transactions in countries far removed from her peninsula.

CHRISTOFORO MORO, of a Candiot family, was elected doge on the decease of Malipieri, and, but a few A. D. months after his accession, a dispute with the Pacha 1462. of Athens respecting a fugitive slave spread the flames of war over the Morea and its adjacent districts. A ferocious contest, evilly distinguished by foul acts of mutual cruelty, raged during a bloody course of fifteen years; and there is scarcely a spot on the Grecian soil, endeared to us by generous associations, which was not polluted at some moment of this war by rapine, treachery, or massacre. The sack of Argos by the Turks preluded the siege of Corinth by the Venetians; and during its investment, we read of an idle work, which, nevertheless, forcibly recalls one of the most spirit-stirring portions of ancient history. Of the wall which the Peloponnesians threw across the Isthmus of Corinth on the approach of Xerxes, Herodotus does little more than mention the existence.* A similar fortification was constructed by Manuel II. in 1413, which the Venetians afterward repaired, when in possession of the neighbouring city, without however finding it an adequate barrier against Turkish invasion. Nevertheless, in order to cover their besieging army, they now restored this useless outwork. Thirty thousand men were employed on this gigantic labour during fifteen days; in which time they covered a distance of six miles, from sea to sea, with a wall of uncemented stones, twelve feet in height, flanked by thirty-six towers, and protected by a broad double fosse. But this rampart neither afforded confidence to its builders nor daunted their enemy; as the Turks advanced, the Venetians abandoned their fortification without attempting its defence, and sought a surer position on the rocky promontory of Napoli di Romania, where they more successfully maintained themselves.

Meantime Æneas Silvius, who held the pontificate, under the title of Pius II., having failed in an attempt for the peaceable conversion of Mahomet II., whom he had soberly exhorted in an apostolical letter to renounce the

* viii. 40.

Imposture of his prophet, and to embrace the Christian verity, directed all his cares to the organization of a new crusade. Indulgences were lavishly distributed throughout Christendom, and the ardour of religious zeal and the terror of the Ottoman conquests collected a numerous but ill-appointed band of warriors, prepared, under the personal guidance of the holy father, to encounter the infidels. Venice, as one deeply interested and already engaged in the contest, was among the first powers to which a papal brief was addressed; and the Doge Moro, an old man, whose besetting passions were avarice and love of ease, was lost in consternation at the proposals which it conveyed. "The victory which we anticipate," wrote the animated and energetic pontiff, "will be rendered far more certain, if you, the prince of Venice and captain of her armies, will accompany us in this war. We ourselves design to increase the terror of the infidels by a full display of the dignity of St. Peter and you, if you will appear in your Bucentaur, clad in the ducal insignia, will fill with dread not only the opposite shores of Greece and Asia, but even the whole oriental world."* It was in vain, however, that this flattering exaggeration of his power was dropped into the dull ears of Moro; that the bright examples of his predecessors were exhibited to his closed eyes; and that he was invited to pursue the heroic steps of Dandolo and Contarini. "Come then, my dear son," wrote the holy father in continuance, "and do not refuse to partake the toils which I myself willingly undergo. Plead not old age in excuse, for the Duke of Burgundy, not less advanced in life than you are, and sovereign of a yet more distant country, undertakes the voyage. We too ourselves hesitate not to embark, although bowed beneath sixty-two winters, and tormented day and night by our infirmities. We three veterans will divide the superintendence of the war. A trinity is acceptable to God, and the Divine Trinity assuredly will protect *that* which we shall constitute. Fail not, therefore, at the gathering; neither fear a death which, if it happens, will conduct you to a better life. All of us must die in this world; and no death can be more an

* The whole of this brief, from which we have selected only a few sentences, may be found, among other writers, in the *History of P. Justiniani*, lib. viii. p. 307.

object of desire than that which is encountered in the cause of God."

Cogent and consolatory as these arguments no doubt appeared to their framer, glowing as were these assurances of blessing and immortality, they met with no response in the chilled bosom of Moro. When the brief was read before the council, he vehemently pleaded his declining years, his unwarlike habits, and his unserviceableness in the field, as excuses for disobeying the summons. But his protest was unavailing against the united voices of the nobles. "Most serene prince," was the conclusive reply of their spokesman, "if your serenity refuses to embark with good-will, we shall compel you to go by force; for the honour and advantage of our country is far more dear to us than is your person." The doge answered not a word; and the other senators, as we are told, *comforted* him by promising the assistance of four of their body as privy counsellors.* The rendezvous was fixed at Ancona, whither Moro, having first consulted the astrologers for a fortunate hour, set sail with a reluctant spirit. Notwithstanding the good promise of the stars, a storm surprised the fleet in one of the canals, and carried away from the doge's galley its crimson banner blazoned with golden images of St. Mark.† Scarcely, however, had he entered the appointed port, when he learned, with ill-dissembled joy, that the projected expedition was arrested by the death of the pope; who, exhausted by mental and bodily fatigue, breathed his last a few hours after the arrival of the Venetian armament. The sacred college partook but little in the zeal of their deceased chief; the crusade was abandoned, and Moro, having unbuckled his armour, took his seat in the consistory, received the thanks of the assembled cardinals, and joyfully returned to St. Mark's.

The Turks, during these transactions, were earnestly negotiating European alliances, and one of their invitations was addressed to the Duke of Milan. It was not without very natural inquisitude that the signory was informed of the arrival of Ottoman ambassadors at the Lombard court, of their honourable reception, and of their proposition, that,

* Spanuto, 1174.

† Velluto cremisino co' Sanmarchi d'oro. *Id.* 1180.

While Mahomet continued the war in Greece, Sforza should effect a diversion upon the Venetian territories in Italy. But that great man, both from declining health, and sound political foresight, felt little inclination to disturb the peace which he had so long laboured to consolidate, and he accordingly rejected the alliance. For some years past he had been oppressed with symptoms of dropsy, but his last illness was only of two days' duration. Firmly established on his throne, which he seemed to have won by conquest solely in order to sheathe all swords around him; in the height of glory and prosperity, and having secured his family by intermarriages with the princely houses of Savoy, Arragon, and France, he expired on the 25th of March, 1466, in the 65th year of his age. His sick couch was watched with tender care by the high-minded and affectionate Bianca; she soothed him by her attentions, she consulted with his physicians, she prepared and administered his medicines; and when the progress of fatal symptoms manifestly announced the rapid approach of his last hour, suppressing her grief, she provided for the tranquil succession of her son Galeazzo, at that time in the service of the King of France, by forwarding messengers to hasten his presence in Milan; and by despatching ambassadors to Venice and the other chief Italian powers, soliciting a continuance of their friendship. Then in the dead of the night assembling a council, she proposed fit measures for the restraint of that popular agitation which is so frequently excited by the death of princes; and, subduing every feminine weakness, although her heart was rent asunder by her loss, she addressed the senators with calmness and dignity, herself alone apparently unmoved amid the mourners who surrounded her. Having thus fulfilled the lofty duties of a queen, and satisfied the paramount claims of royalty, she no longer struggled against nature; but, abandoned to softer and more womanly emotions, she threw herself upon the beloved, though lifeless body, and refused to quit it till the moment of interment, which, contrary to usual Italian custom, was protracted, at her desire, beyond the second day. In a few months, the grave terminated her sorrows, by reuniting her to that husband whose attaching, no less than commanding, qualities had converted a mar-

riage originally prompted by ambition, into a bond of the most ardent reciprocal affection.*

War continued to rage with unmitigated ferocity in the East; for, although Venice anxiously wished to disembarass herself from a struggle which exhausted both her blood and treasure without hope of advantage, the demands of Mahomet appeared too unreasonable to be admitted while there was any chance of obtaining their modification. The Venetians, after disembarking at Aulis (a port ennobled in ancient history by the rendezvous of the Grecian fleet, preparatory to its expedition against Troy), and descending to the Piræus, attacked, stormed, and pillaged Athens; but this short-lived triumph was revenged, on the recovery of the city, by the empalement of a *provveditore* captured during its siege, and a hideous slaughter in the assault. Mantinea was once more deluged with blood, which did not *now* flow in the cause of freedom; and the Venetians, abandoning the continent, concentrated themselves in Negropont, suffering and inflicting the most frightful calamities.

A. D. 1470. The narrow strait which separates that island from the opposite shore of Attica was crowded with a larger fleet than had filled its channel since the invasion of Xerxes; and Mahomet II., when encamped on the very promontory which had been occupied by the Persian tyrant, counted from his pavilion 400 vessels occupying a sea line six miles in length, and 300,000 men† marshalled under his banners. The strait was bridged by boats; and although a feeble attempt was made by the Venetian admiral Canale to relieve the ancient Chalcis (now bearing the same name as the island itself), he retired when within view of its eagerly expecting garrison, not without imputation of cowardice, for which he was displaced and punished. The Venetians repulsed five assaults; the sixth was fatal, and not one of its defenders survived the storm. Mahomet had denounced death against every soldier who should spare a single prisoner exceeding twenty years of age, and the slaugh-

* Simoneta, *apud* Muratori, xxi. 776.

† The Turkish force probably is very greatly exaggerated. Ripalta (*ap. Muratori*, xx. 929) raises it to 500,000. Sabellico (Dec. iii. lib 8) and Cepio (l. p. 341) descend to 120,000, and Sanuto (1190), yet lower, to 70,000; but, taken at the very lowest estimate which has ever been assigned, it most fearfully outnumbered the Venetians.

ter consequent upon that menace was indiscriminate. Even the handful of brave men which threw itself into the citadel was massacred after capitulation; and their gallant commander, Erizzo, who had yielded only on a promise that his head should be respected, discovered, too late, that the spirit of the savage conqueror's grant of immunity differed widely from its letter. His head, indeed, was untouched, but his body was placed beneath the saw, and he expired in torture.*

The conquest of Negropont enabled the Turks to spread themselves with rapid strides over the Morea, now wholly defenceless: they next advanced upon Dalmatia, rounded the head of the Adriatic, penetrated Friuli, and ravaged even so far as the neighbourhood of Udino. Their fleet rode triumphant; all Europe was astonished by this humiliation of Venice upon the element over which, with few exceptions, she had hitherto asserted dominion; and the surprise was increased by the extreme suddenness with which the Turkish marine had acquired its superiority. Italy also was struck with terror by the irruption of fresh barbarians upon her frontier. At the close of their foray, the war was principally transferred to Dalmatia, and raged in that and adjoining districts during six years of misery and desolation. It was then once again carried into Italy, and extended almost to the very borders of the *Lagune* themselves. The Pacha of Bosnia, again entering Friuli, surprised the Venetian generals by rapid marches, before any intelligence of his advance had been received. The lines constructed on that frontier since the last invasion, if properly defended, would have been impregnable; but the troops occupying them were sunk in idle security and forgetfulness; the Turks swam the rivers or mastered the bridges: and their light cavalry, having defeated, on the banks of the Isonzo, the only band which made head against them, spread themselves over the whole plain between that stream and the Tagliamento. Sabellico,

A. D.
1477.
Oct.

* Daru hesitates respecting the truth of this atrocious perfidy, and observes that it is mentioned neither by the Turkish historians, nor, a far better reason for disbelief, by Sanuto. Sabellico, however, records it, and adds the tyrant's brutal jest, '*Pollicitum se cervici non lateribus parsurum*' (iii. 8, *ad fin.*); and it is repeated by Sandi (viii. 9). Unhappily such cruelty is by no means alien from either the national or the personal character of Mahomet.

who at the moment was seeking shelter in the invaded district from the plague, at nightfall mounted a tower near Udino, and from its summit beheld a hundred villages in flames. On the next morning, the Tagliamento was crossed, and the fires of the succeeding night were visible even from the Campanile of St. Mark's. After these acts of destruction, the marauders, prepared solely for ravage, and content with the terror which they had inspired, withdrew upon Dalmatia, before any new force could be assembled to confront them.

In that country, so often desolated by war, the Venetians suffered a heavy loss. Croya, now a miserable village, but once the capital of the heroic Scanderbeg,* and transferred by him before his death to the signory, capitulated from want of supplies, after investment for a whole year and a patient endurance of the bitterest privations. The A. D. sultan, in an express instrument attested by his own 1478. signet, guaranteed safe-conduct to such of its inhabitants as wished to quit the city, and protection to all others who would remain in it under the Turkish government. To a man, they preferred emigration, satisfied with whatever new seats Venice might provide for their allotment. The princely abode of the Castriots was abandoned by its native guardians; and the gates at which the victorious progress of Amurath had been checked, and his days probably shortened by the chagrin which their successful resistance occasioned, were now opened to his more fortunate son. Twenty years after the death of Scanderbeg, his surviving companions committed themselves to the ambiguous fidelity of the Ottomans, not till then their conquerors; and in spite of the solemn pledge which Mahomet had given, no sooner were they within his power than he delivered them to the executioner.

Scutari, from its great strength, the almost spontaneous fertility of its adjacent country, and the forests well adapted for ship-timber by which it was encompassed, offered an important station to Mahomet, panting for means to estab-

* It is not in this place that the exploits of that most extraordinary man can be introduced with propriety. Gibbon has condensed them into the narrow compass of half a dozen pages, in which they are but mildly narrated, with great inclination to undervalue the Christian hero.—(Gib. lxxvii.)



lish himself on the opposite coast of Italy; and it had already been unsuccessfully invested. Even before the fall of Creya, preparations on a far larger scale than had been employed at first were made for a renewal of the siege. After the close of the war, Sabellico was assured by eye-witnesses that not a spot of ground was to be discovered from the battlements of that city, far as sight could range across the plain of up the mountains, which did not teem with armed men, tents, and artillery; and to oppose this gigantic force, Scutari, one of the strongest Venetian dependencies, and even in our own days containing 12,000 inhabitants, counted within her walls no more than 600 mercenaries, 1600 citizens, and 250 women. A breach was soon effected, and the Turks were twice led to the assault. On the second attack, Mahomet, careless how many lives he sacrificed if success were but attained, disposed his 80,000 troops in four separate divisions, with orders to relieve each other at intervals of six hours; and thus to exhaust the garrison by the mere pressure of numbers continually renewed. Slender as was the Venetian force even when mustered entire, Antonio de' Lazzi, its brave commander, when apprized of the enemy's intention, determined to meet it by a similar arrangement; and while a single small detachment manned the ramparts, three others were posted in reserve. The assault commenced before daybreak, and as evening closed, fresh battalions continued to press forward over the corpses of their fallen comrades, without planting one foot within the walls. During the whole night and the greater part of the following day, the combat raged unabatedly, till Mahomet, warned that he could no longer depend upon his troops, who began to murmur at being led to certain and unavailing slaughter, reluctantly withdrew, with the loss of a third of his army, and converted the siege into a blockade. The unintermitted sleet of arrows, covered by which the assailants advanced to this memorable storm, is mentioned by contemporary historians as one of its greatest terrors. A miserable cat, scared from her hiding-place by the war-cries, fell pierced by eleven shafts at once; three or four arrows were in many places found transfixing each other; and for several months after the retreat of the Ottomans, the baths, kitchens, and bake-houses were supplied with no other fuel than the wood

which these weapons afforded.* During the subsequent blockade, the chief sufferings of the inhabitants arose from scarcity of water; and, on one occasion, resolutely bent upon procuring a supply at every hazard, they sallied down in a mass upon the lake which approached their western ramparts. Four hundred men carried skins and buckets, the rest formed their escort; and as they fought their way back to the walls, the favourite project of Mahomet and his ultimate hopes of the conquest of Italy were sufficiently announced, by fierce shouts which burst from the camp. "*Scutari, Scutari!—Roma, Roma!*"†

Italy indeed was once again to be desolated by these plundering hordes, but not till she had encountered other sufferings beforehand. In their former incursions the Turks had

A. D. left behind them the seeds of pestilence, and these 1478. it is said were increased by a descent of locusts,

which in the summer of 1478 swarmed over a space 30 miles in length and 20 in breadth, in the territories of Mantua and Brescia. The peasants employed in the destruction of these formidable insects neglected to bury them, and the miasma generated by their putrefaction, spread rapidly from Lombardy even to Florence and to Venice. So great was the mortality in the latter city that the councils broke up their sittings, and the nobles sought safety in dispersion. The doge himself was among the victims, and the reign of his successor GIOVANNI MONEGHESE commenced under the accumulated calamities of plague, famine, a destructive fire which consumed parts of the ducal palace and of St. Marks, and a new invasion of Friuli by the Ottomans. Schooled, however, by their former disasters, the Venetian generals were now amply prepared; and instead of taking the field, they prudently remained unmoved within their lines, which defied all attack; till the marauders, wearied by inactivity, and hopeless of provoking battle, retired by the mountains of Carniola. Marvellous stories were recounted of their retreat among these Alps. Thirty thousand cavalry were said to have penetrated through defiles which the natives themselves seldom dared to attempt; and in more than one spot, when a pathless abyss appeared to forbid descent, the horses were lowered by ropes amid the precipices,

* Sabellico.

† Sanguo, 1200.

from height to height till they securely reached the undermost valley.

Peace was now coveted at almost any sacrifice. The defence of Friuli and Albania at the same moment distracted and exhausted the resources of the state; new interests in Cyprus demanded vigilance; growing agitations among neighbouring Italian powers excited well-grounded alarm; and no European ally appeared willing or prepared to grant active assistance. Advices had been received from Scutari that but a few months' provisions remained to its diminished garrison, which it was impossible either to recruit or to relieve; and it was determined therefore to take advantage of the cession of that hardly-contested city while it was yet available for negotiation. The demands of Mahomet had not increased in rigour; but they were still oppressive to the treasury and galling to the pride of Venice. A. D.
1479. Negropont, Lemnos, and Scutari were to be transferred to the Turks; 100,000 ducats were to be paid immediately as an indemnity; exclusively of an annual tribute of 10,000 more, the disgrace of which was to be concealed under the name of a commutation for mercantile duties and customs. When the gates of Scutari were opened to its new lords, there issued from them 450 men and 150 women, the melancholy remnant of nearly 2,500 souls at the commencement of the siege. They were distributed by the signory of Venice through various parts of its territory, and rewarded, as their rare fidelity well deserved, either by public charges or by allowances from the state.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A. D. 1464 TO A. D. 1508.

Giacopo Lusignano usurps the Crown of Cyprus—He marries Catarina Cornaro—His Death—Insurrection of the Cypriots—Deposition of Queen Catarina—Cyprus becomes a Province of Venice—The Turks sack Otranto—Lodovico the More usurps the Crown of Milan—Invites the French into Italy—Invasion of Charles VIII.—He conquers Naples—Embassy of Philippe de Comines to Venice—Retreat of the French—Battle of Fornovo—Victory claimed by the Venetians—Dethronement and Captivity of Lodovico Sforza—Wealth and Dominion of Venice at the close of the Fifteenth Century—War with the Emperor—Truce—Jealousy of the great European Powers.

DOGES.

A. D.

CHRISTÓFORO MORO.

NICOLÒ MORO.

NICOLÒ MARCELLO.

PIETRO MONCENIGO.

ANDREA VENDRAMINO.

GIOVANNI MONCENIGO.

1485. LXXV. MARCO BARBARIGO.

1486. LXXVI. AUGUSTINO BARBARIGO.

1501. LXXVII. LEONARDO LOREDANO.

DURING this long and perilous war with the Ottoman sultan, Venice prepared the way for an important acquisition, first by a dark course of intrigue, ultimately by complicated injustice. The crown of Cyprus had been worn for nearly two centuries and a half by the family of Lusignano, when in 1458 it was wrested by Giacopo, a bastard of the fourteenth prince of that illustrious line, from the rightful heiress, his legitimate sister. The new king had been attached from early youth to Catarina, niece of André Cornaro, a Venetian noble resident on his Cypriot estate; and no sooner was he freed from certain political and domestic obstacles than he tendered his hand to that lady. In order to satisfy the rigid law which forbade the marriage of

any Venetian of noble birth with a foreigner,* the destined royal bride was solemnly adopted by the state, and declared a daughter of St. Mark; she was then married by proxy, in the presence of the doge and signory, conducted by the Bucentaur to the galley which awaited her in the port, and escorted by a squadron of ships of war, with becoming pomp and a portion of 100,000 ducats, to the territories of her husband.

The Venetian government doubtless foresaw numerous advantages likely to arise from this connexion, but they could scarcely calculate upon the splendid prize which it was finally to place within their grasp. It was no small gain to open freely to their commerce an island which, after Sicily and Sardinia, ranked as the largest in the Mediterranean; whose delicious climate and fertile soil produced wine, oil, and grain in profusion; the richness of whose mines of copper was announced by its very name; and whose position, with regard to Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, offered unequalled facilities for the profitable intermediate traffic between Europe and the East. Giacopo Lusignano after his marriage cultivated intimate relations with the republic of which he had become the son-in-law; he assisted her in the Turkish war, and his ports were always thronged by her vessels. At his death, which occurred within two years after this alliance, he bequeathed his kingdom to the infant of which Catarina was then pregnant; and in failure of her issue, to three illegitimate children, a daughter and two sons, successively in order of primogeniture. Sabellico relates a conversation with the Venetian admiral Moncenigo, in which the dying prince consigned his queen and kingdom to the especial protection of the republic; a legacy which it will be seen Venice was not backward to accept.

Moncenigo proclaimed Catarina queen, and together with the *provveditori* who accompanied him, held at the baptismal font the son of whom she was soon afterward delivered. He then resumed his station in the neighbouring seas; and his

* This law appears to have been framed in order to continue the wealth of noble families within national channels; and as it regarded foreign princes, it was in strict accordance with the general policy of Venice, which forbade all communication between them and her nobility.

departure was the signal for revolt to those Cypriots who, in a closer connexion with Venice, too truly anticipated the loss of national independence. A numerous party of the nobles addressed themselves to Ferdinand of Naples, the most deadly and the most ambitious foe of the republic; and proposed to him a marriage between his bastard son Alfonso and the bastard daughter of their own late king. Both the children were of immature age, but the Cypriots pledged themselves that the crown should devolve upon them jointly, at the attainment of majority. Fortified by this strong alliance, they proceeded to scatter ambiguous reports among the populace; and darkly to imply that Cornaro and Marco Bembo, the uncle and cousin of the queen, had poisoned the late king in order to transfer the sovereignty to her single hand. The imputation found ready belief; and the citizens of the capital, stimulated to violence by these rumours, assembled by night, assassinated the accused Venetians and the royal physician, who was denounced as their instrument; besieged the palace; and secured the persons of Catarina and her son. They then announced the concerted alliance with Naples, and invested the future bridegroom with the title of Prince of Galilee, a dignity never hitherto bestowed except on the presumptive heir to the crown. No sooner, however, were these tidings conveyed to Moncenigo than he gathered his scattered cruisers, summoned troops from Candia, and repaired to Nicosia with eager haste and an overpowering force. His unexpected arrival struck terror into the insurgents; some of the leaders, dissembling their real motives, represented the murder of Cornaro as an act of the mutinous soldiery, whose pay he had kept in arrear, and disclaimed all hostility against Venice; others fled for refuge to the mountains, or sought escape by sea. On their dispersion the chief towns were occupied by Venetian garrisons; those revolters against whom evidence could be obtained underwent capital punishment; and Catarina, restored to nominal power, became in truth the vice-queen of the signory.

Fifteen years had now passed, during which the signory had governed Cyprus under the name of Catarina, A. D. whose son died not long after his birth; and the 1489. islanders who at first chafed beneath the yoke of the republic, and earnestly sought to transfer their allegiance to

Naples, had now become accustomed to their virtual masters. There were contingencies, nevertheless, not likely to escape the sagacity of Venice, by which some other hand, after all her long intrigue, might perhaps gather its fruits. Catarina still maintained more than ordinary beauty; and her picture, in widow's weeds (even now glowing with almost original freshness among the treasures of the *Palazzo Manfrini*), was one of the earliest great works of Titian,* which, both from the skill of the artist and the loveliness of the subject, extended his growing fame beyond the borders of the Lagune. With so great attractions, coupled to the rich dowry of a kingdom, it was not probable that the Queen of Cyprus would long remain without suitors; and rumour already declared her to be the intended bride of Frederic, a son of the King of Naples. If she married and bore children, Cyprus would become their inheritance; and to prevent the possibility of such an extinction of their hopes, the Venetian government resolved to assume its sovereignty directly in their own persons. The civilians, therefore, were instructed to avouch the legitimacy of this claim; and they declared, perhaps with less sincerity than solemnity, that the son of Giacompo Lusignano inherited the crown from his father; that since he died a minor, his mother inherited from him; and that finally Venice inherited from his mother, an adopted daughter of St. Mark.

Giorgio Cornaro, a brother of the queen, was solicited to conduct the ungrateful process of her deposition. To his representations,—that by abandoning the care of a turbulent kingdom, and returning to her native land, in which she might pass the remainder of her life tranquilly and securely, among those bound to her by natural ties, she would far more consult her happiness than by remaining exposed in a remote and foreign country to the hazards of its ambiguous friendship,—she replied with confidence, that there was little which could allure a woman environed with the splendour of royalty and the observance of a court, to descend to the parsimonious habits and undistinguished level of a republican life; and that it would please her far better

* Titian often repeated this subject, and it has been yet more frequently copied from him by others. In the Dresden gallery is a superb portrait of the Queen of Cyprus, which there can be no doubt is from the hand of Titian himself.

if the signory would await her decease before they occupied her possessions.* But to arguments explanatory of the will, the power, and the inflexibility of the senate, it was not easy to find an adequate answer; and the *natural eloquence*, as the historian styles it, of her brother, ultimately prevailed. "If such," she observed, as soon as tears permitted speech, "be your opinion, such also shall be mine; nevertheless, it is more from you than from myself that our country will obtain a kingdom."† Having thus reluctantly consented, after a few days' delay she commenced her progress to Famagosta; royal honours attended her everywhere as she passed, and on the 6th of February she signed a formal act of abdication, in the presence of her council; attended a solemn mass, at which the banner of St. Mark was consecrated; delivered that standard to the charge of the Venetian general; and saw it raised above her own on the towers of the citadel. On the approach of summer, she embarked for Venice, where she was received as a crowned head by the doge and signory; and in return for the surrender of her sceptre, she enjoyed a privilege never before or since accorded to any of her countrywomen,—a triumphal entry to St. Mark's *Piazzetta*, on the deck of the Bucentaur. A revenue of 8000 ducats was assigned her for life; and the delights of the "Paradise" of Asola, in the Trevisan mountains, in which the unqueened queen continued to assemble her little court, have been immortalized by a volume long among the most popular works of early Italian literature; and graced by the poetry, the sentiment, the piety, and the metaphysics of the illustrious historian from whom we have borrowed our narrative of Catarina's dethronement.‡

* Bembo, *Ist. Venet.* l. ad ann.

† *Id. Ibid.*

‡ The *Asolani* of Cardinal Bembo were first published by Aldus in 1505, and they were reprinted eighteen times before the close of the sixteenth century. His biographer, Giovanni Casa, thus speaks of their great popularity. *Eos libros tantâ hominum, mulierum etiam, mediis fidiis, approbatione et tanquam plausu exceptos recentes esse meminimus, ut exemplis cuncta eos Italia cupidissime lectionit atque didicerit; ut non satis urbani aut elegantes si haberentur quibus Asolanæ illæ Disputationes essent incognitæ.*—*Vit. Bembi*, p. 143. The theme of these dialogues is love, but they are wholly free from the impurities which unhappily defile some of their author's early poems. The scene is laid at Asola, where a large company is assembled to celebrate the nuptials of a favourite attendant of the Queen of Cyprus. The disputations, intermixed with *canzoni*, occupy three days, on the first of which.

It is to the year following the incorporation of Cyprus with the dominions of the republic, that Bembo, who, as public historiographer now takes up the thread of Sabellico's narrative, assigns the introduction of small arms into the Venetian military service: His minute description sufficiently avouches the novelty of the invention, and it somewhat resembles that account of the first employment of artillery, which in a former page* we have extracted from Redusio. The usage of iron tubes, says the historian, transmitted to us from Germany, is becoming prevalent among our soldiery. These tubes by the force of fire discharge leaden bullets with extraordinary violence, and wound from a distance; they are of the same shape and form as cannon by which walls are battered; with this difference, however, that the latter are cast from brass, and are often of so great weight as to require solid and iron-bound carriages and a vast number of horses for their transport; the tubes, on the other hand, are made of iron fixed to a wooden butt, so that one may be handled by every soldier singly. They are loaded with gunpowder which is easily kindled, and when the bullet has been rammed down, they are discharged from the shoulder. The Ten, anxious to obtain a supply of men skilled in these weapons, have collected from all quarters persons who are masters of their use, and have sent them into different towns to instruct our youth. For the encouragement also of peasants in this training, they have decreed that in every village two adults shall devote themselves to the acquirement of this exercise, who in consequence shall be relieved from all other public burdens: and furthermore, that every year there shall be a general assembly of these marksmen, at some spot fixed among themselves, for a shooting match at a target; in which the victor's prize shall be a similar immunity to that possessed by himself for all his townsmen, during the following year, with the single exception of such labours as are enjoined for turning the course of the Brenta.†

a noble youth, Perottino, argues against the gentle passion; on the second, Gismondo replies to him; Lavinello appears as moderator on the third; and at the close, a hermit directs the thoughts of the auditors from earthly affections to *Amor Divino*.

* Vol. i. p. 212.

† Bembo, *Ist. Venet.* l. ad ann. The reader will at once call to mind the English popinjay.

VOL. II.—K

The affairs of Cyprus have anticipated our Italian narrative by a few years, but henceforward there will be many periods over which we shall hasten with far greater rapidity than we have hitherto ventured to employ. Our *SKETCHES* are not designed for more than illustrations of national character; and as Venice, by her growing continental acquisitions, became more and more involved in the labyrinth of general European politics, so did she cease to retain many of those peculiarities which in her earlier course stamped her so deeply with an impress of individuality. That which may be better obtained from other and professed histories we shall therefore touch but lightly, if at all; restricting ourselves to such matters as belong absolutely to the republic herself.

There is little which need detain us in the fifteen years which succeeded the Turkish war; they were spent, for the most part, in unceasing disputes and occasional direct hostilities with Ferdinand of Naples, and his son-in-law the Duke of Ferrara. One event, however, which occurred before the commencement of any open struggle, and which naturally confirmed the animosity of Ferdinand, is far too

remarkable to be passed in silence. Within a year
 A. D. 1480. after the conclusion of peace with Mahomet II., a Venetian ambassador was despatched to Constantinople, inviting the Turks to a descent upon the coast of Apulia; on which it was supposed that Ferdinand was chiefly vulnerable, and which Mahomet was instructed to claim as an ancient possession of the Greek empire. A hundred Turkish ships of war were accordingly assembled in the ports of Albania; sixty Venetian galleys distantly observed them, and betrayed their connivance by permitting a disembarkation at Otranto. The result was most calamitous; after a fortnight's siege, the city was stormed, 11,000 souls perished in the assault, and as many more were reduced to slavery. Among the victims to the Ottoman fury on this disastrous occasion were 800 ecclesiastics, whose massacre has furnished a copious theme for legendary invention. Francesco-Maria di Asti, archbishop of the see so late as the commencement of the eighteenth century, published the annals of his diocese, which but for this most terrific martyrdom and its accompaniments, would afford a very meager narrative. One priest named Stephen, ap-

pears to have been slain while ministering at the altar, and a portrait of the Virgin, attributed to the pencil of St. Luke, vanished for ever from the church at the moment of his death. His brethren were led without the walls, chanting hymns and spiritual songs, and Antonio Primaldo, their abbot, was the first who was put to the sword. His head rolled from his shoulders, but his body, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the executioner to overthrow it, obstinately persisted in remaining upright till the last of his comrades was lifeless. The corpses, although unburied for thirteen months, showed no signs of corruption, and remained inviolate by birds and beasts of prey. After their subsequent honourable interment, part of their relics was transported to Naples, part remained within their native city, greatly to its advantage. So potent was their virtue, that they twice preserved Otranto from violence similar to that by which the saints themselves had perished. When Solymán, the Magnificent threatened the coast in 1537, he was astonished by these martyrs, who, gifted with a power of supernatural multiplication, presented themselves upon the ramparts under the guise of innumerable armed men. A like ghostly army averted another Turkish invasion in 1644; and the marvel was then increased by being visible to none but infidel eyes. The Christian galley-slaves who rowed the Ottoman vessels denied the existence of the spiritual hosts which terrified the unbelievers, and they were ruthlessly put to death by their masters for this want of clear-sightedness.*

Rome was filled with consternation by this unexpected irruption of barbarians which appeared to threaten her own safety; and the pope meditated an abandonment of his capital and a retreat to France. But the Turks were unable to improve their first success; the whole south of Italy rose in arms for their expulsion; the death of Mahomet in the following year prevented them from receiving support; and the conqueror of Otranto, who had effected nothing farther than the ravage of its immediate neighbourhood, and an incursion upon Brindisi, accepted an honourable capitulation.†

* In *Memorabilibus Hydruntinis Eccl. Epitome. ap. Burmanni Thesaur. Antiq. et Hist. Ital. tom. ix. p. 8.*

† Disgraceful as was this conspiracy between Venice and the Turks, it was exceeded in wickedness by the conduct of Alexander VI. in 1494,

The accession of Alexander VI. strengthened former amicable relations between Venice and the holy see; and in 1493 a triple alliance was signed by the pope, the signory, and Milan, expressly to counterpoise the increasing predominance of Naples. In Milan, the power consolidated by the wisdom of Francesco Sforza was now beginning to decline. His successor, in spite of his weakness and his crimes, had reigned in tranquillity, mainly preserved by the remembrance of his father's greatness; but, upon his death, the virtual government was usurped from his infant son, by the regent, an ambitious uncle, known in history as Lodovico the More;* to whose ripening views upon the throne itself the support and acknowledgment of Venice became of paramount importance. Nevertheless even after the conclusion of that treaty, Lodovico Sforza felt little confidence in his new allies; for Venice was the hereditary enemy of his family, and the treachery and recklessness of crime which have rendered the name of Alexander VI. a by-word in history had already displayed themselves in more than a single instance. Agitated by such doubts, and feeling the strong necessity of arming himself yet more completely against the watchful jealousy of Naples, if he persisted in the meditated seizure of his nephew's crown, the regent of Milan sought friends beyond the Alps; and readily captivated a young, vain, and thoughtless monarch by the allurements of a brilliant expedition and the probable conquest of a rich dominion. Charles VIII. of France

when alarmed at the approach of Charles VIII. If the documents relative to the negotiation were not even now extant, it would scarcely be believed that the head of the Christian church invited a horde of barbarian infidels to overrun Italy, in order that he might achieve the ruin of the eldest son of that church. The instructions of Alexander to his nuncio at Constantinople, and the letters of Sultan Bajazet II. in reply, are printed in *Preuves et Illustrations aux Mémoires de Philippe de Comines*, p. 293. à la Haye, 1682.

* Not the Moor as it is commonly written. Paulus Jovius (*Vite illust. virorum*, iv.) states that Lodovico Sforza adopted as his bearing a white mulberry-tree (*moro*), the wisest of all plants, which buds late, and does not flower till all hazard from winter is past. The usurper, however wily in maturing his plans, was mistaken in the application of the latter meaning of the emblem to himself. It was under a similar delusion that he named himself *il figliuolo della Fortuna*. Guicciardini, who records this folly, speaks however of his title *il Moro* as denoting his complexion as well as his political wisdom.—Lib. iii. vol. i. p. 239. Ed. Frib. 1775.

was now in his twenty-second year; nature had been but chary in her endowments at his birth, and he was little gifted with such qualities as constitute either real or ideal heroism. Rash, light, and headstrong, without prudence, judgment, diligence, or constancy, he was so weak in disposition as to be the easy tool of every fresh intriguer who beset him; so deficient in cultivation, that it was with difficulty he could write his own signature. He is represented to have been equally wanting also in personal graces. We are told that he was dwarfish in stature, forbidding in aspect, disproportioned in limbs, large-headed, short-necked, high-shouldered, and spindle-shanked, altogether more like a monster than a man.* Such is the portrait transmitted to us of that youthful conqueror, who was to renew the march of Hannibal;† to overthrow a powerful kingdom, and to abandon the fruits of his rapid victories only that he might increase the glory which fortune poured blindly into his lap, by effecting one of the most successful retreats, and winning one of the most remarkable victories, recorded in military annals.

In the invitation conveyed by Lodovico Sforza to the King of France, Venice was not a party; and it was with astonishment by no means unmixed with alarm‡ that she

* *Bruttissimo* is the epithet employed by Guicciardini, who continues, *pareva quasi più simile a mostro che ad huomo*.—Lib. i. vol. i. p. 70. Brantome, on the authority of his grandmother, strenuously rejects these pictures of Charles's ill-favoured person, and the Italian historians may perhaps have overcharged the features; but Philippe de Comines, who represents him but a few degrees better, cannot be doubted. Moreover, a corroborating testimony is afforded by an unprejudiced witness. Bartholomæus Cocles, a great contemporary physiognomist, to whose judgment the king's portrait was submitted, thus describes it:—*Caput magnum et nasus ultra modum aquilinus magnus, labia subtilia aliquantulum et mentum rotundum et foveatum, oculi magni et aliquantulum eminentes, collum curtum, non satis vividum, pectus et dorsum amplum, hypochondria satis magna, ventis carnosus, nates satis amplæ, cossæ subtiles et crura subtilia et satis magna in longitudine*.—*Physiognom. Quæst. lib. ii. 15*. The prognostics which the sage delivered were that the prince would be short-lived, and probably die *ex materie catarrhali*: he was right in one, at least, of these conjectures.

† *Passando in Italia per la montagna di Mongineura, per la quale passò anticamente Annibale Cartaginiese—ma con incredibile difficoltà*.—Guicciardini, lib. i. vol. i. p. 71.

‡ Guicciardini has enumerated many prodigies which foreran the French invasion; they are much of the same cast as those which nineteen centuries before warned the Romans *Gallus advenire*. Seers and

learned the determination of Charles to assert by arms the long-suspended claims of the house of Anjou upon the Neapolitan crown; his passage of the Alps; his unchecked progress to the south of Italy; and his final occupation of Naples. Alexander VI., indeed, threatened the penalties of ecclesiastical censure if the French army should violate the precincts of the eternal city; but he was silenced by the reply of Charles, that he had vowed a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Peter, and that even at the peril of his life this holy engagement must be fulfilled.* Before he arrived at Rome, the young prince of Milan had died under strong suspicion of poison, and Lodovico Sforza had seized upon the dukedom. These great events belong to general history, and we confine ourselves to the feelings and the consequences which they produced in Venice; intermixing only some pointed notices of contemporary habits and manners, traced by a keen-observer of human nature. Philippe de Comines, a gentleman of very ancient house in Flanders, passed in early youth from the service of Charles the Bold of Burgundy to that of Louis XI. of France; who esteemed him greatly, employed him in some of his weightiest and most secret affairs, and created him his chamberlain, seneschal of Poictou and Lord of Argenton. For a time he enjoyed similar confidence under Charles VIII., and at the commencement of this Italian expedition he was despatched as ambassador to conciliate the goodwill of Venice.

Comines informs us, that on his entrance to the *Lagune*, he was met at Fusina by five-and-twenty gentlemen sumptuously apparelled in silk and scarlet, who welcomed him with an oration. As he drew nearer the city, an equal number of grave personages in like garb, accompanied by the ambassadors of Milan and of Ferrara, awaited him at

astrologers prophesied approaching calamity; three suns appeared in Apulia; in Arezzo an infinite number of armed men mounted on gigantic horses galloped through the sky to the sound of drums and trumpets; images sweated; monstrous animals and children were plentifully born; and great astonishment seems to have existed that all these marvels passed without the accompaniment of a comet: *dava solamente agli uomini ammirazione, che in tanti prodigi non si dimostrasse la stessa cometa, la quale gli Antichi reputavano certissimo messaggero della mutazione de' Regni e degli Stati.* Lib. i. vol. i. p. 67.

* *Eh, quelle gentille invention et feintisei de vous!* is Brantome's rapturous exclamation.—*Eloge de Charles VIII.*

St. Andréa with a similar troublesome ceremonial; conducted him to a large gondola, covered with crimson satin and decked within with arras; and placed him between the two ambassadors, the middle being the Italian post of honour. As he passed along the grand canal, he appears to have been deeply impressed with the magnificence of the city. "Sure in mine opinion it is the goodliest streete in the world and the best built, and reacheth in length from the one end of the towne to the other. Their buildings are high and stately, and all of fine stone. The ancient houses be all painted; but the rest that have been built within these hundred yeeeres have their front all of white marble brought thither out of Istria an hundred miles thence, and are beautified with many great peeces of Porphire and Sarpentine. In the most part of them are at the least two chambers, the ceiling whereof is gilded, the mantle-trees of the chimneies verie rich, to wit, of grænen marble,* the bedsteds gilded, the presses painted and vermeiled with golde, and marvellous well furnished with stuffe. To be short, it is the most triumphant citie that euer I sawe, and where ambassadors and strangers are most honorably entertained, the commonwealth best governed, and God most devoutly served; so far forth that notwithstanding they have diuers imperfessions, yet thinke I verily that God prospereth them, because of the reuerence they beare to the service of the church."†

During eight months' residence in Venice, the Lord of Argenton received strong conviction of the power and the policy of her government; "Sure thus much I dare boldly say of them, that they are men of such wisdom, and so inclined to enlarge their dominions, that unlesse they be looked to in time, all their neighbours shall repent it too late." To his first diplomatic overtures, which commenced while Charles had advanced no further than Asti, the signory, at that

* Sir Henry Wotton, a century later, was much struck by the excellence of the Italians in this species of decoration. In his *Elements of Architecture*, when treating "of Chimneys," he says, "In the present business, Italians (who make very frugal fires) are perchance not the best counsellors. Therefore from them we may better learn how to raise fair mantels within the rooms."—*Reliq. Wotton*. p. 87

† In this and some following extracts from the Vllth and Vllth Books of the *Memoires de Philippe de Comines*, we have used a translation by Thomas Danett, 1596.

time little anticipating the promptness of the king's movements, returned evasive answers; and they still maintained appearances of friendship even when his unlooked-for successes had determined them upon a hostile alliance; and when the ambassadors of the emperor, of Milan, and of Spain, already assembled in the capital, were holding nightly conferences among themselves and with the Ten, preparatory to a general league against France. To explain this sudden change in politics, it should be noticed that Sforza, by whose intrigues the invasion had been concerted, was both disappointed in his promised reward, and alarmed for his usurped dominion, upon which the Duke of Orleans, commanding in Lombardy, asserted a claim; that Maximilian saw in the conqueror of Naples an aspirant to the succession of the empire; and that the King of Spain had aimed to revenge the overthrow of the Aragonese dynasty, and to guard his own dominions in Sicily. Comines, however, had not spared money, and therefore he had procured good intelligence; he knew the articles which were in debate before they were signed, and he avowed that knowledge to the signory. The doge, Augustino Barbarigo, whom he describes to be "a vertuous and a wise man, of great experience in the affaires of Italie, and a curteous and gentle person," notwithstanding this declaration, attempted to dissemble; he assured the Lord of Argenton that "he must not beleeeve all that he heard in the townes; for all men live there at libertie, and might speake what they listed!" and he loudly professed a continuance of neutrality. Being urged further, he ultimately admitted that the occupation of many places in the territories of Florence and of the Church had excited suspicion; but that nothing should be definitively concluded by the allies till they had received from the king an answer to their remonstrances.

When the reduction of Naples was certified, "they sent for me againe in a morning," says Comines, "and I founde fiftie or sixtie of them assembled together in the duke's chamber, who lay sicke of the collicke. He told me these newes with a cheerfull countenance, but none of the rest could dissemble so cunningly as himselfe: for some of them sate upon a lowe bench leaning upon their elbowes, other some after one sort, and others after another; their outward

countenances bewraying their inward griefe. And I thinke verily when word came to Rome of the battell lost at Cannas against Hannibal, that the Senators which remained in the Citie were not more astonished nor troubled than these: for none of them once looked upon me, none of them gaue me one word but the Duke alone; so that I wondred to beholde them."

On the final arrangement of the league, they summoned him one morning earlier than usual in order to declare its outline. "They were assembled to the number of a hundred or more, and looked up with cheerefull countenances, and sate not as they did the day they aduertised me of the taking of the Castle of Naples. I was maruellously troubled with this newes, for I stood in doubt both of the King's person, and of all his companie, supposing their armie to haue beene readier than indeed it was, as did themselues also. I feared further least the Almains had beene at hand; and not without cause; for if they had, vndoubtedly the King had neuer departed out of Italie. I was resolved not to speake much in this heate: but they so prouoked me that I was forced to change my minde; and then I said unto them, that both the night before and diuers other times, I had aduertised the King of their League, and that he also had sent me word that he had intelligence thereof from both Rome and from Milan. They all looked maruellous strange upon me, when I said that I had aduertised the King before, for there is no nation under the sunne so suspicious as they, nor so secret in their affaires, so that oftentimes they banish men upon suspicion onely, for the which cause I said thus much unto them."

It must not be dissembled, however, that the Venetian historians, no less anxious to maintain the well established celebrity of their government for inviolable secrecy than is Philippe de Comines to blazon his own penetration, deny altogether that the French ambassador was acquainted with the league against his master, till it was communicated to him by the signory. Bembo speaks pointedly to this fact; and the anecdote which he has preserved bears strong internal evidence of truth. So effective, he says, were the precautions adopted by the Ten for the preservation of their secret, that although the ambassador of France daily

frequented the council, and was visited by his brother envoys, no suspicion ever crossed his mind of what was passing. When, on the morning after the signature of the league, he was invited to the hall of the senate, and heard from the doge the terms of the treaty, and the names of those who were parties to it, he was almost demented for the moment; till, recovering a little, he asked abruptly, "What! will my king be restrained from returning to France?" The doge assured him, on the contrary, that, if Charles appeared in peaceful guise, every facility would be afforded him. Philippe de Comines, when he quitted the senate and descended the steps into the palace-court, turned to the secretary of the council who accompanied him, and begged him to repeat the doge's words, since he found himself wholly unable to call them up to his remembrance.*

No sooner was Charles apprized of his great danger than he broke up from Naples, towards the close of May. Hitherto his triumph had been almost bloodless: one King of Naples abdicated and died of terror, as was said, at his approach;† a second and a third, his successors, abandoned their dominions; and the conqueror was celebrating his past successes by inconsiderate festivity, and anticipating yet brighter renown at Constantinople, to which his future hopes were directed, when he was informed of the powerful confederacy which was assembling nearly 40,000 men on the Lombard borders of Tuscany, to intercept all communication with his native dominions. Yet, notwithstanding the peril which environed him, he had the imprudence to weaken his army, already inadequate to meet the force which it was likely to encounter, by leaving useless garrisons behind him. Then, lingering unnecessarily for many days at Sienna and at Pisa, and detaching another

* Lib. ii. p. 54, apud Ist. Venez.

† Ferdinand not only died, but also—so però e lecito tali cose non del tutto disprezzare, as Guicciardini with wisdom beyond his times introduces the tale—absolutely returned from the other world, in order to express his fears. The king's ghost appeared thrice, on different nights, to Giacopo, chief physician of the court; and first in gentle terms, afterward with fierce menaces, urged him to inform the new monarch Alfonso, in the ghost's own name, that all resistance to France would be vain, and that his posterity, after long troubles and final dethronement, was destined to extinction.—Lib. i. vol. i. p. 107.

portion of his scanty force to attempt an impracticable enterprise upon Genoa, he approached the Apennines by a tardy and incautious march. The allies were slow in their gathering, or they might easily have cut him off among those mountains: for Philippe de Comines speaks of several defiles which a handful of men could have successfully defended against a host; and of one narrow causeway in particular, between two deep salt marshes, in which "a single cart set overthwart the way with two good pieces of artillery" would have checked the largest army which ever mustered in the field; but it seemed that the enemy were "blinded and bereft of their wits." The sufferings of the French troops were increased by want of supplies; and even when they arrived in a comparatively abundant district, affording "bread which was little, black, and of great price, and wine which was three parts water," the dread of poison for a long time prevented them from tasting these coveted viands.

Had it not been for the good service of the Swiss guards, who were more than usually alert in order to atone for some bloody and unauthorized outrages which they had committed at Pontremoli, the barrier town of the Duke of Milan at the southern foot of the Apennines, the artillery must have been abandoned among the mountains. The field-pieces of those days exceeded in caliber the heaviest battering train of modern sieges; for Paulus Jovius speaks of each horseman carrying on the pommel of his saddle a cannon-ball of fifty pounds' weight;* and the Comte de la Trémouille, who superintended the operations, set an example in his own person, by bearing two of those immense masses. Drums and trumpets sounded at intervals to animate the toil-worn soldiers; five days were consumed in their wearisome labours; and on the sixth, Charles, who had imprudently despatched his vanguard thirty miles in advance, so that all power of sustaining it if attacked would have been denied him, concentrated his

* Guicciardini (lib. v. vol. i. p. 75) ascribes the invention of field artillery to the French, and attributes to them also very great improvement in heavy ordnance. Much of the success of Charles in this expedition was owing probably to his superiority in those great arms of war. This also was one of the earliest occasions in which iron was substituted for stone as the charge for artillery.—Fougasse, *Hist. de Ven.* Dec. iv. l.

whole army at Fornovo, a town on the right bank of the Taro, a mountain-torrent which runs from the Apennines to the Po. The French did not amount at the utmost to more than 9,000 fighting men, harassed by fatigue, exhausted by want of food, and in the presence of an enemy more than fourfold their number.

The confederates were encamped a little lower down on the same bank of the Taro, near the Abbey Ghiaruola, about two miles in the rear of Fornovo; a position which they chose both to mask the city of Parma, of the fidelity of which doubts were entertained, and also to afford more open space for the manœuvres of their numerous cavalry on the adjoining plain. Four-fifths of their force were composed of troops in the pay of Venice, commanded by Francesco di Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, a youthful captain of distinguished skill and bravery; who, exclusive of infantry, marshalled under his banner nearly 20,000 horse. Of these 5000 were Stradiots, a light-armed cavalry of Albania and the Morea, much employed by Venice during the late Turkish war; and who by their hardihood and ferocity, as Philippe de Comines assures us, "trouble an army exceedingly when they are inclined to do so." They were rough soldiers, couching in the open air, keeping the field both winter and summer, charging on fleet Turkish horses with irresistible fury, and dispersing again so rapidly as to evade all pursuit. They neither gave nor received quarter; and, retaining the barbarous habit of their country, they bore off at their saddle-bows, or on the points of their lances, the heads of their slaughtered enemies; for each of which they received a ducat from the *provveditori*. The remainder of the allied force consisted of Milanese under the Count di Caiazzo.

Scarcely had Charles dismounted at Fornovo when his quarters were beaten up by the Stradiots; whose unobserved advance was facilitated by a wood which ran between the two camps, but who retired as soon as the French took to arms. During the night, like alarms were renewed from want of due precaution in posting sentinels; and the French, ill-provided with tents, were exposed to a deluge of rain, accompanying a thunderstorm, the terrors of which were greatly heightened by the deep reverberations from the Apennines, at the foot of which they were encamped.

There were few hearts which did not quail with apprehension for the morrow, ushered in as it was by these supposed demonstrations of the wrath of Heaven.

In order to continue their retreat, it was necessary that the French should cross the Taro at Fornovo, and defile along its left bank in the very front of the enemy's camp, which would then be separated from them by the river; and the king, undismayed by his inferiority of numbers, announced his intention of firing a shot into the camp as he passed, in order to signify his presence and his willingness to join battle if it were offered. At an early hour on the morning of the 6th of July, Charles heard mass; by seven o'clock he was on horseback, and impatiently called for his chamberlain. When Philippe de Comines attended the summons, he found the young prince armed at all points, and mounted upon a favourite black horse called *Savoy*, from the duke its donor; the bravest steed which man ever saw, and though having "but one eye, and being meane of stature, yet tall ynough for him he carried." The approaching combat had given unusual animation to the young king, who on all occasions, indeed, appears to have exhibited distinguished personal courage. "He seemed that day altogether another man than either his nature, person, or complexion would beare; for naturally he was, and yet is, very fearfull in speech; bicause he had ever been brought up in great awe and with men of meane estate; but his horse made him seeme great, and he had a good countenance and a good colour, and his talke was strong and wise."*. Philippe de Comines, from his long residence at Venice, being well-known to the *provveditori*, had proposed

* Brantome has extracted from the *Supplementum Chronicorum* of Giacopo di Bergamo a speech attributed to Charles on the occasion—*elle me semble*, says the panegyrist, *tres belle et gentille*—Voilà certes belles paroles et un brave et gentil roy pour n'avoir jamais étudié. The blame of Charles's lack of learning must be entirely attributed to his detestable father, who permitted him to be taught but one sentence in Latin, his own favourite axiom of king craft: *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*. Benedetti, however, does not admit that want of letters was peculiar to Charles, but extends it to the whole race of French princes. *Il Re in mezzo di due Cardinali cavalcava intorno le squadre, et con quanta eloquentia può essere tra gli huomini idiotti (perciò che i Principi Francesi, non fanno stima di lettere) confortava tutti i Capitani. Il Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, lib. i. p. 24. The speech, which is too long for extraction in our pages, and is probably the composition of the Chronicler, is printed by Daru. Paulus Jovius gives an account of the

to them, some days before, an amicable parley, and his offer was not wholly declined. The king, therefore, notwithstanding the boldness of his demonstrations, expressed a wish to have that overture now renewed; and the Lord of Argenton testified his readiness to obey. But, more experienced in the field than his master, he at the same time remarked that he had never yet seen two so great armies in so immediate contact which parted without a battle. While he drew aside to frame his despatch to the *provveditori*, the march began from Fornovo; and the Taro, although swollen by the rain of the past night, having been forded, the army defiled slowly along the opposite bank till it reached the face of the Venetian camp. The French were marshalled in three divisions; the van, by far the strongest body, because upon it the brunt of attack was expected to fall, was led by the Marshal de Gîe and by Trivulzio, two of the bravest and most tried captains of their time; and it included 3000 Swiss, 300 dismounted Scottish archers, and the entire infantry and artillery. The king himself followed with the main battle, supported by his nine *Preux*, favourites especially selected as comrades of the monarch in the field. Round him were displayed countless standards, banners, and guidons, and the glittering troop advanced to the symphony of trumpets and clarions. His harness was of the richest fabric, he wore a gorgeous surcoat with short sleeves, in colour white and violet, embroidered with Jerusalem crosses, and blazing with jewelry; his horse was barded after the same fashion, and both his *chanfrons* and *testiere** especially were of most choice and curious workmanship. The rear was brought up by the Comte de Nar-

king's bearing very similar to that of Philippe de Comines, adding, *sed tum fronte atque oculis, aduncoque præsertim et prominente naso pug-nacis ac intrepidi militis speciem præbebat*. Black Savoy, according to the same writer's description, was, it is to be feared, little better than a dray-horse. *Equum consendit neque nobili colore vel celsæ staturæ conspicuum, quum esset absolutæ ob idque damnatæ nigredinis unicolor, destroque oculo captus, sed qui quadrato habitu indomitum præferret robur.*—Hist. lib. ii. fol. 69. Ed. Ven. 1553.

* *Chanfrons*, armour for the horse's face, to which was affixed the *testiere* between the ears, and bearing a crest. Our account above is taken from Brantome, who writes in the true spirit of chivalry; and it accords better with the character of the vain and thoughtless prince than that given by Paulus Jovius. "Valldis potius quam decoris armis protectus—neque, vel a cono capitis vel a regali cultu nosci volebat."—*ut supra*.

bonne. Both these latter divisions were small in numbers; and they were succeeded by a long, straggling train of 6000 beasts of burden, which conveyed the baggage, and were without any further escort than such as could be afforded by the horseboys and camp-followers. This cavalcade was ordered to incline to some hills on the left of the march of the army.

While the *proveditori* were deliberating upon their reply to the Lord of Argenton's proposition, a distant cannonade had begun between the camp and the French vanguard. A trumpet was despatched by the Venetians to demand a cessation of this firing till the parley should be concluded, and to make inquiry concerning a prisoner of rank who had been taken the day before. This messenger received instructions to mark with particular accuracy the disposition of the march, and especially the post and armour of the king himself; in order that his person might be recognised in the *mêlée*. It is said that the over-anxiety of the spy betrayed his commission, and that the French, becoming aware of their inadvertency in admitting him too freely to the royal presence, endeavoured to atone for it by making the *Preux* adopt arms and colours as similar as circumstances would permit to those borne by the king.* Notwithstanding these pacific appearances, the cannonade was speedily renewed, and Philippe de Comines, perceiving the great danger to which he would be exposed by longer separation from his comrades, clapped spurs to his horse and overtook the main body; this movement was seasonable, for before he reached his position three of his attendants were cut down by the enemy.

The king, with his sword drawn, was giving the *accolade* to such as claimed knighthood, according to the usual custom before an engagement,† when Philippe de Comines

* De la Vigne, in his *Journal*, who is followed by Garnier, *Hist. de France*, x. 484. It is little likely, however, that the hurry of the impending battle would permit these changes at the moment; and Paulus Jovius and Brantome assure us that the *Preux* were so armed from the beginning; a custom sufficiently familiar to the English reader, who will remember the Lord of Stafford, Sir Walter Blunt, and the many others "marching in the coats" of Henry IV. at Shrewsbury, and the "six Richmonds in the field" at Bosworth.

† M. de Saneac, a gentleman well skilled in the usages of chivalry, gave Brantome a sound reason for dubbing knights *before*, rather than *after*, battle; both the distinguished personage who bestowed and the aspirant who received the honour might chance to be killed in the battle.

rejoined him. At the same moment a loud cry was heard from the spot which the Lord of Argenton had just quitted; and the bastard of Bourbon rode up to Charles, calling out, "Forward, sire, forward; this is no time to amuse yourself by dubbing knights; the enemy is at hand; let us charge them!" Contrary to expectation, the Marquis of Mantua had crossed the Taro behind the French, in order to attack their rear with the flower of his army, the men-at-arms being intermixed with Stradiots. He marched with his force softly and well together, which, as Philippe de Comines remarks, with a true soldier's spirit when recording a brilliant manœuvre even in an enemy, "was a marvellous pleasant sight to behold." A large body of Stradiots was directed at the same time to fall upon the baggage, and yet another division to charge in flank as soon as they should perceive Gonzaga himself engaged, and besides these the Count de Caiazzo passed the river in front and attacked the van. It seemed, therefore, as if the French, pressed at the same moment from three quarters, and in each by superior numbers, must inevitably be destroyed; and if the confederates had brought all their force into action instead of weakening it by unnecessary reserves, which the timid cautiousness of the *provveditori* retained in the camp, such probably would have been the issue of the day.

The rear was already briskly engaged when Charles hastened to its relief: "The King," says Philippe de Comines, "went into the front of his battell, and placed himself before his standard, so that, the Bastard of Bourbon excepted, I sawe none neerer the enemies then himselfe. Our enemies marched lustely forward, in such sort, that within lesse then a quarter of an hower after my arrivall, they were come within a hundred paces of the King, who was evill garded and as evil waited on as ever was Prince or Nobleman; but mauger the Devil, he is well defended whom God defende." The shock of the men-at-arms was most formidable; "undoubtedly it is impossible for men to meete roughlier than we met;" the lances of both parties shivered at the first encounter, and they fought bravely with their broken staves and battle-axes, while their horses, trained to such warfare, plied their teeth and hoofs against each other almost as if animated by national hatred.* The king was

* Guicciardini, lib. ii. vol. ii. p. 170.

among the foremost, and the bastard of Bourbon was taken prisoner within twenty paces from his side. In the mean time, the Stradiots who accompanied this charge, and upon whose terrific scimitars great reliance was placed after the lances of the knights were broken, observing the baggage in confusion, and their comrades who had been directed to attack it enriching themselves by its plunder, broke from their ranks in hope of sharing the spoil. The consequence of this disobedience was fatal; the men-at-arms, suddenly deprived of their expected support, were panic-stricken and fled; many of the bravest were slain on the spot, and the remainder were pursued at full speed to the banks of the Taro, now difficult of passage owing to the still increasing flood; for the storm which commenced on the preceding night continued to rage during the battle, and the river, swollen by the rains, assumed its torrent form and inundated the valley. Such men-at-arms as had fallen wounded, or whose horses failed them, were quickly despatched by the camp-followers, who thronged round with hatchets usually employed in wood-cutting; but now with these rude weapons "they brake the visards of the knights' head-pieces, and then clave their heads, for otherwise they could hardly have been slain, they were so surely armed; so that there were ever three or fewer about one of them. Moreover, the long swords that our archers and servants had did that day great execution." The cry in the pursuit was "Remember Guynégate!" a warning against the allurements either of plunder or of prisoners; for Guynégate was a battle fought in Picardy, under Louis XI., and lost in the very moment of victory by too great eagerness for pillage.* So well did the admonition operate upon those to whom it was addressed, that not a single prisoner was taken; and so totally had their panic deprived the fugitives of any power of resistance, that but one Frenchman was slain in the pursuit.

The attack in front, meanwhile, was weakly conducted, and almost immediately repulsed; but the Marshal de Gisé,

* Guynégate is well known to an English reader as the spot at which the flower of the French cavalry were routed by Henry VIII. in 1510. On this *Journée des Esperons*, the Battle of the Spurs, the Chevalier Bayard surrendered himself to a gentleman whom he had already made prisoner, and the question of ransom arising between them was discussed by the emperor and the King of England. The adventure is told in a very lively manner in the *Hist. du Chev. Bayard*, 57.

aware of the great numerical superiority of the enemy, perceiving their reserve strongly posted in their camp, and not knowing the brilliant success of his comrades, wisely forebore from an advance which might have proved hazardous. Still, although the day was won, the king, who remained on the spot at which his successful charge had overthrown the Marquis of Mantua, was exposed to great personal danger. At one time he was "marvellous weakly accompanied," says Philippe de Comines, for his sole attendant was a groom of his chamber, "a little fellow and evilly armed." While thus deserted by his *preux* in the ardour of pursuit, a broken troop of Italian men-at-arms, in their flight across the plain, perceived his destitution, and rode up to attack him. By his practised skill in horsemanship and the strength and docility of black Savoy, who "continued removing to and fro," he defended himself valiantly till the return of some of his attendants rescued him from this great peril, and placed him in security with his vanguard.*

The fight itself occupied not more than a quarter of an hour, the pursuit about thrice as long, yet so bloody had been the defeat, that of the allies there fell 3500 men, several of the first quality; and among them Rodolfo, an uncle of the Marquis of Mantua. The French loss did not amount to 200, nor did it include any personage of distinction; and not above ten of the slain on both sides were struck by artillery, the remainder being killed hand to hand in close combat. A council of war was held on the field of battle, in which Trivulzio and other Italian captains boldly urged the king to follow up his success by an attack upon the camp. But Charles was more calculated to win than to improve a victory; the proposal was considered too daring, and the conquerors repaired to such quarters as they could find within a mile from the scene of action. "The king himself," writes Philippe de Comines, "lay in a farm-house being an old beggerly thing: notwithstanding the barns

* Andre de la Vigne, who was secretary to Anne of Bretagne, and who wrote his *Journal* at the express command of Charles-VIII., has ransacked all history and romance for parallels to the king's heroism.— "A proprement parler il merita cedit jour d'estre apellé vray fils de Mars, successeur de Cesar, compagnon de Pompee, hardy comme Hector, preux comme Alexandre, semblable a Charlemagne, courageux comme Hannibal, vertueux comme Auguste, heureux comme Octavian, chevaleux comme Olivier, et delibere comme Roland.

about it were full of corne unthressed, which I warrant you our army quickly found. Certaine other old houses were there also, which stood us but in small stead : euerie man lodged himselfe as commodiously as he could ; for we had no lodgings made. As touching myselfe I lay vpon the bare ground under a vine, in a verie straight roome, having nothing under me, no, not my cloke : for the king had borrowed mine in the morning, and my carriage was far off, and it was too late to seeke it. He that had meat ate it, but few there were that had any, unless it were a morsell of bread, snatched out of some of their seruants bosoms : I waited vpon the king to his chamber, where he found certaine that were hurt, namely the Seneschall of Lyons and others, whom he caused to be dressed. Himselfe was merrie and made good cheere, and each man thought himselfe happie that he was so well escaped : neither were we puffed up with pride and vainglorie, as before the battell, because we sawe our enemies encamped so neere us. The same night all the Almaines kept the watch, and the King gaue them three hundred crownes ; whereupon they kept the watch verie diligently and strake up their drums brauely." Charles, indeed, was liberal in his recompenses ; the Chevalier Bayard, who was making his first campaign, had two horses killed under him on this day, and captured a standard in the pursuit ; he laid this trophy at the feet of the king, who presented him with 500 crowns in return.*

It should not be omitted, that during the whole of the above trying and arduous events, Philippe de Comines appears to have been animated by an undoubted assurance of ultimate success. His confidence was founded on a prediction, to which he frequently alludes, by Savonarola ; a bold, factious, and enthusiastic Dominican, who maintained the paramount influence which he had acquired in Florence, by his preaching, his prophecies, and his austerities ; till, about three years after the battle of Fornovo, he was adjudged to the stake by the vengeance of Alexander VI., whose crimes he had too fearlessly denounced. This "Friar Jacobin, called Friar Hieronime," was visited by Philippe de Comines because he had preached in behalf of Charles VIII., and had affirmed that he was sent by God

* *Hist. du Chev. Bayard*, ch. 11.

to chastise the tyrants of Italy. "I asked him whether the King should passe out of Italy without danger of his person, seeing the great preparation the Venetians made against him, whereof he discoursed perfectlier than myselfe that came from thence. He answered me that the King should have some trouble upon the way, but that the honour thereof should be his, though he were accompanied but with a hundred men; and that God, who had guided him at his coming, would also protect him at his return.—Thus much I have written, to the end it may yet more manifestly appeere that this voyage was indeede a meere miracle of God." Seldom has the intervention of a miracle and a special Providence been asserted for a more unworthy purpose! and yet, notwithstanding the convenient vagueness and ambiguity of language which Savonarola employed in his predictions (and these were many) relative to Charles VIII., there remain enough contradictions in them to enable us to determine that it was but a lying spirit by which the prophet was inspired.

The shame of this great defeat has very deeply impressed many of the Italian historians. Paulus Jovius, who sums up his narrative in words borrowed from those of Livy when recounting the disaster of Cannæ, terms it the extinction of Cisalpine military glory, an ignominious rout which made Italy contemptible to foreigners, and was the beginning of her countless future miseries. The conduct of the allies presents indeed a singular display of want of skill and irresolution; and by a strange fatality they neglected each of the many opportunities of success which the rashness of the French king presented. They might have destroyed him among the Apennines; they might have overpowered his advanced guard during its long detachment from the main body; they might have attacked him with advantage during his passage of the Taro; or, after all these omissions, they might have secured victory by dint of numbers, if they had at once brought up their entire force. Yet so deficient were they in unity of counsel, or of design, that they appear to have believed at first that the mere rumour of their preparations would be sufficient to arrest the march of their enemy; and when the French presented themselves upon the heights above Fornovo, the *provveditori*, alarmed at this most unexpected daring, anxiously urged their allies to grant an undisputed passage. So far did

they press their opposition to the indignant remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, whose master ran no hazard from defeat, and of the gallant Mantuan who felt assured of victory ; so unmoved were they by any sense of the dishonour which must accrue if they permitted a handful of toil-worn and needy adventurers to escape after braving their fresh, numerous, and well-appointed host, that they despatched messengers to ascertain the will of the signory respecting ulterior proceedings ; and, but for the presumption of Charles, which did not allow time for reply, it may be doubted whether the battle would ever have been fought. In the engagement itself, all that valour could effect was assuredly performed by Gonzaga ; but his dispositions do not evince much acquaintance with tactics. His defeat was in great measure attributed to the breach of discipline by the Stradiots, to the sudden rise of the Tarò, which occasioned disorder in his ranks as he crossed it, and to the unreasonable fall, in the very onset, of his uncle Rodolfo, who was to have given a signal for the advance of a powerful reserve. That reserve, however, so soon as it perceived the first check, ought to have pressed forward without awaiting orders ; and it is not possible to deny the justice of the *naïve* comment of the Lord of Argenton, upon "Maister Anthonie, of Urbin," who commanded it, that the death of Rodolfo "served him for a good excuse, and to say the truth I think he saw yough to stay him from marching."

We shall not continue to follow the retreat of the French, which, although effected with safety, was affirmed by the signory to be no other than a disastrous flight. The plunder obtained by the Stradiots was purchased and transmitted to Venice ; it consisted of the king's horses, tents, plate, and equipage, many costly articles removed from the Neapolitan treasury, and, above all, the ancient crown jewels of France, which always accompanied the monarch, and were found on the person of one of his grooms of the chamber.* Fortified by the evidence of those rich prizes, to the intentional

* Mr. Roscoe, who, in his account of this battle (Leo X. ch. iv. vol. i. p. 262, 8vo.), has, we think, represented its issue as more favourable to the confederates than any contemporary authorities warrant—with the exception of some adulatory poems,—mentions in a note some very remarkable particulars concerning part of this booty, from which little credit is reflected on the good taste of the French king.

abandonment of which it is probable that the French were greatly indebted for their triumph, the Venetians, without hesitation, asserted that the day was their own; and issued ordinances for the celebration of the victory with great public rejoicing, not only in the capital itself, but throughout all their dominions. So also, in after-years, applying the customary privilege of an epitaph to the support of this fraud, they inscribed upon a tomb in the church *de' Frari*, in which was interred one of the *provveditori* of this campaign, "Here lies Melchior Trivisano, who fought prosperously against Charles, King of France, at the battle of the Taro."^{*}

The rapid loss of his Neapolitan conquests which succeeded the return of Charles VIII. to France, and the waste of life and treasure which occurred in this idle, unjust, and vainglorious expedition, fully verified a favourite axiom of his father, "That he who went to seek victory in Italy took much trouble to buy a long repentance very dearly."[†] His death relieved Venice from the inquietude excited by his unrestrained ambition; and it is to the credit of the Council of Ten, when we bear in mind the flagitious maxims of their ordinary policy, that they rejected an offer for his assassination by a person of distinction in Friuli; who engaged that one of his domestics, an Albanian, should either kill him with his own hand, or employ a relation, the king's chief groom of the chamber, to take him off by poison.[‡] A similar abstinence at the close of

^{*} Guicciardini, lib. ii. p. 58. The policy of the battle of Taro is considered and condemned by Paruta in his *Discorsi Politici*, li. p. 4.

[†] Garnier, *Hist. de France*, x. p. 404. Ariosto has finely expanded this sentiment:—

quasi tutti
Gli altri, che poi di Francia scettro avranno,
O di ferro gli esseretti distrutti,
O di fame, o di peste si vedranno;
E che breve allegrezze e lunghi tutti,
Poco guadagno ed infinito danno
Riporteran d' Italia; che non lice
Che 'l Giglio in quel terreno abbia radice. —xxxiii. 10.

[‡] The reply of the Ten on this occasion was not much in unison with the spirit of the statutes of the Inquisition of State:—Che la repubblica non haveva per l' adietro giamai tal modi usar contro alcuno, ancor che capital nimico, tutto che più volte ne havesse havuto il commodo e l' occasione, e però che né anco hora lo voleva permettere, havendo nostro

the campaign which we have just related, when the signory were irritated by a perfidious act of Lodovico Sforza, is much praised by the native historians. When that crafty prince, dissatisfied with the conduct of Venice during a negotiation for peace with France, threatened to obstruct the return of her army to the *Lagune*, Bernardo Contarini, who commanded the Stradiots, bluntly assured the *provveditori* that he knew a certain way of opening a free passage. "To-day," he said, "you meet the duke and his chief officers in council; the doors will be closed, and the debates will commence; when I, stepping up as if to speak to him, will run him through the body. There is not one of his attendants who will dare to draw his sword, for they are all more cowardly than women." The herculean strength, the determined bravery, and the cool self-possession of this rough chief of brigands, sufficiently avouched that he possessed the means of fulfilling his offer, and the *provveditori* extolled his daring to the skies. Venetian honour would have stood more clear if they had not thought it necessary to submit this iniquitous proposition to the decision of the Ten, who were asked by a despatch in cipher whether, in case of necessity, they would permit its adoption. The council answered that such a step appeared contrary to the dignity of the republic.*

It was not long, however, before Venice saw her revenge fully gratified upon the usurper of Milan. The Duke of Orleans, upon ascending the throne of France as Louis XII., urged with more than former vigour his pretensions to that duchy; and secured the co-operation of Venice by agreeing to cede to her a portion of the spoil. One by one of the allies of Sforza abandoned him, and ^{A. D.} 1499. remained inactive spectators of his approaching fall; and as the French advanced from the Alps, and the Venetians on his eastern frontier, the deserted prince hurried from his capital, and sought refuge at Inspruck under the protection of the Emperor Maximilian. Before his flight, he addressed some Venetians in words not a little demonstrative of sagacious political foresight. "You have brought," he said, "the King of France to dine with me, but rest assured it is with you that he will sup." From his

Signor Iddio davanti gli occhi multo più che le potenze degli huomini. — Dogliari, Ist. Venet., l. ix. But this was an esoteric doctrine.

* Bembo. *il. ad fin.*

German retreat, he employed his large remaining treasure in hiring a considerable body of Swiss, a people who had recently commenced their lucrative trade as the general mercenaries of Europe; and rapidly marching with these troops upon Milan, he compelled the French garrison to retire. Among the few events which distinguished this short reoccupation of his capital was the capture of the Chevalier Bayard; who, although at that time still in early youth, had already begun to justify his title to the pre-eminence in valour and in virtue which has rendered his name a proverb. Too hastily pursuing some skirmishers whom he had routed, the brave knight galloped after the fugitives through the very gates of Milan, without observing that all his comrades had dropped behind. Sforza, hearing of the adventure, requested to see the prisoner, received him with marked courtesy, expressed surprise at his youth and gallantry, and terminated the interview by restoring his horse and arms, and dismissing him without ransom. Bayard in return offered thanks in true chivalric spirit, vowing that, in so far as due regard to his own honour and loyalty to his sovereign would permit, there was no service which he would not readily undertake for a prince so gracious. Then leaping into his saddle without touching the stirrup, he ran a short course, shivered his lance against the ground, and performed some expert feats of horsemanship which drew from Sforza's lips an involuntary avowal, that if the King of France possessed many such knights as the one before him, his own chances of success were indeed most diminutive.*

The Swiss whom the Duke of Milan led to oppose the French were little to be trusted; they sold themselves to the enemy, broke out into open mutiny, demanded arrears of pay, and refused to act against the ranks of Louis, which were filled with their own countrymen. Remonstrance was vain; and when they persisted in disbanding, the sole favour which Sforza could procure was permission to accompany them in the retreat which had been granted through the French lines. A few of his officers, who greatly dreaded hard usage from the foe, assumed the Swiss uniform; but Sforza himself, whose well-known features could scarcely fail to betray him under a disguise so slight,

* Hist. du Chev. Bayard, 12.

wrapped his head in a monk's cowl, mounted a sorry horse, and presented himself as their confessor. The treacherous Swiss revealed the secret ; and as the unsuspecting victims passed through the French camp, they were examined, recognised, and arrested. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, a brother of Lodovico, relying upon the protection of a private friend, was betrayed about the same time to the Venetians by an equally base violation of faith. But that distinguished prisoner, together with many others whom they had captured, was haughtily demanded by the French king ; who reclaimed at the same time the sword and tent of Charles VIII. exhibited at Venice as proud trophies of the victory at Fornovo. These demands were conceded, and the cardinal, and other branches of the Sforza family, were distributed in captivity through various parts of France. Lodovico himself was conveyed to Lyons, exposed at mid-day in that city to the rude gaze and contumely of an unpitying rabble, sternly denied audience by his conqueror, and finally thrown into the tower of Loches on the banks of the Indre ; a fortress of evil fame as one of the gloomiest dungeons which the tyranny of Louis XI. had stocked with iron cages ; and in which the unthroned duke was condemned to linger during a miserable existence of thirteen years of rigorous confinement. Loches, says Duchesne,* stands on the summit of a lofty and inaccessible rock, its fosses are precipices, and it has but a single and most difficult approach. When Dubos wrote his *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambrai*, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were still visible, on the walls of Sforza's cell some political maxims which he had engraven on them during the tedious hours of captivity. To the attendant who had devoted himself to his service in prison he was in the habit of declaring, that of the men who were largely indebted to him for favours, all had abandoned him in his need, save one—the sultan Bajazet.† The exact date of Sforza's death is uncertain ; some writers have affirmed that in 1512, Louis XII., driven out of Italy, and thinking to embroil the Milanese by the presence of their former duke, restored him to liberty. This unexpected blessing proved

* *Antiquitez des Villes de France*, l. 592.

† *Paulus Jovius, in vit. & c., illust. vir.*

a calamity, and Sforza, overpowered by joy, breathed his last in the state chambers of the castle a few days after he had been transferred to them from its dungeon.* His remains were interred in the magnificent abbey within its walls.

A far more agreeable employment than that of detailing the chances of a new Turkish war may be found in a brief review of the powerful resources, the increasing opulence, the extensive commerce, and the enlarged dominions of Venice at the close of the fifteenth century, which we now approach; a point of time which, perhaps, may be considered the epoch of her loftiest elevation. The discoveries of Vasco di Gama and of Columbus had begun, indeed, to awaken her jealousy, but had not as yet invaded her almost exclusive monopoly of trade; and in her long range of maritime stations from the Po to the eastern boundary of the Mediterranean and the mouth of the Don, she continued to gather and to disperse the merchandise of the entire known world. At home, her silk manufactures, long cultivated in the colonies, and introduced to the *Lagune* from Constantinople on a much greater scale, towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, while interdicted to all but her magistrates for domestic use, supplied the remainder of Christendom with its most costly and most delicate attire. Spain and England contributed their richest fleeces to the fabric of her unrivalled cloths; and for linen the flax of Lombardy afforded inexhaustible materials. 100,000 ducats were annually produced by a single commodity, at first sight of apparently trifling value, gilt leather. Liquors, confectionary, and waxen tapers, of which last article the consumption in ecclesiastical services at Rome was of very considerable extent, swelled the exports of the Adriatic mart. In her laboratories were distilled and sublimated the choicest chymical preparations required either by medicine or the arts. The glass-houses of Murano, which, like her silk-loom, Venice had borrowed from the East, furnished some of their most coveted luxuries to both the civilized and the savage world; decorated the gorgeous palaces of Europe with mirrors, and the person of the naked African with beads. And to omit numerous other minor sources from which was derived an influx of wealth and reputation,

* Dubos, *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambrai*, iv., on the authority of *Les Généalogies Historiques*, but the story is discredited by Daru. See a note at the commencement of his xxivth book.

Venice claimed the glory of adopting at an early date, and advancing with a rapid hand, that invention which, above every other, has most beneficially affected the permanent welfare of mankind. Not more than fifteen years, perhaps even sooner, after the discovery of printing, John de Spira transported it from Germany to Venice; and Sanuto notices a patent granted to him for the exclusive publication, during five years, of the *Epistles* of Cicero and Pliny.* Nicolas Jansen, and others of much eminence, succeeded him; but the triumph of the art was consummated when Aldus Manutius, a native of Bassiano, in the ecclesiastical states, established himself in the republic in 1488. The zeal of that illustrious scholar first opened at large the hitherto partially revealed stores of Greek literature. He invented the Italic, or cursive letter, in imitation, as is said, of the handwriting of Petrarch; he collected around him the most distinguished learned men of his time, and in the *Neacademia* which he instituted, among other celebrated names were counted those of Bembo, Navagero, Sabellico, Sanuto, Forghieri, Alexander Alberto Pio,† Prince of Carpi, and, above all, of Erasmus. That brilliant company discussed in their weekly meetings the authority and the various readings of MSS., decided what works most deserved to be published, assisted in their collation and transcription, and even corrected the sheets as they passed through the press. To the zeal of the elder Aldus, of his son, and of his son's son, for the honourable labours of this family were continued during three successive generations, literature is indebted, not only for some of the choicest specimens of typography which still adorn our libraries, but for the very existence of numerous works, which, unless for their skill and assiduity, would most probably have been lost to us for ever.‡

Such were some of the many springs from which riches were derived by the descendants of the fishermen of Rialto,

* *Ap. Muratori*, xlii. 1189.

† The education of that young nobleman had been consigned to Aldus, although he was not much older than his pupil; and the prince, from strong attachment, permitted his instructor to adopt the family name of the house of Carpi. Pio; a very honourable privilege.

‡ The sixth book of Daru's History contains a masterly and most elaborate review of the statistics of Venice at the close of the fifteenth century, upon which we have chiefly relied for our above brief summary. The biography of the Aldi is nowhere better given than in the second volume of Renouard's *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes*.

Their territory, during the lapse of a thousand years, had stretched itself from the coasts of the *Lagune* and the narrow ancient *Dogado* over some of the fairest provinces of Northern Italy; and Venice swayed on the adjoining *Terra Firma* the principality of Ravenna, Trevisano and its dependencies, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Crema, Brescia, and Bergamo. Friuli connected her with Istria; Zara, Spoleto, and the Dalmatic islands with Albania; Zante and Corfu continued the chain to Greece and the Morea, and numerous islands in the Archipelago supplied the remaining links with Candia and Cyprus.

To become allied to or to depress a state thus opulent and powerful were important objects to other governments; and Venice accordingly was either courted or menaced, as she appeared likely to assist or to control the several projects of ambition which influenced her neighbours. Equally mistrusting Louis XII. of France and the Emperor Maximilian,—both of whom indeed, although on terms of avowed friendship with her republic, had not long since contemplated its dismemberment, and signed a treaty at Blois to that effect,—she found it most politic to adhere to the former in a dispute which arose between them on the dissolution of that nefarious compact. For a few months, therefore, she was involved in hostilities with the emperor; during which, after a complete victory gained at Cadauro by Bartolomeo d'Alviano, when, if we believe Navagero, not a single imperialist escaped to notify the disaster,* the fortune of war threw into the hands of the conquerors Trieste and some other important ports of the Adriatic. Maximilian, whose prodigality justly entailed upon him the title of "The Penniless,"† unable to procure supplies for the continuance of this unsuccessful struggle, proposed a truce; but Venice, with strict fidelity to her engagements, refused in the first instance to treat separately from her ally. The French king extended this principle of comprehension beyond its legitimate bounds, and by obstinately stipulating, that a minor power, the Duke of Gueldres, with whom Venice had neither connexion nor community of interests, should be included, broke off the negotiation.

* Ne nuncio quidem relicto, cæsi sunt.

† Massimiliano Pochidanario. Car il estoit assez liberal, et n'estoit possible trouver un meilleur prince, s'il eust eu de quoy donner,—is the sly character given of this emperor in the *Hist. de Ch. Bayard*, ch. 38.

Under these circumstances the signory felt at liberty to consult the advantage of their country, and they concluded a truce with the emperor for three years,—a hollow repose which prepared for them a most fatal war. The seeds of fresh dissensions were to be found in the pride of Maximilian humiliated by defeat, and in the anger of Louis unreasonably kindled by that which he termed desertion ; and the task of reconciling these princes for the purpose of hostile union against a government which each regarded with equal dislike and jealousy required therefore but a small portion of statesmanship. The restless spirit of intrigue which animated Julius II., the most ambitious pontiff who ever disquieted Christendom, was a fitting instrument to combine against the devoted republic the first general confederacy which the leading powers of Europe formed on grounds wholly political, and which is known in history as **THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI.**



An Arquebuser, p. 109.—and a Soldier in Garrison—Fifteenth century.
From Titian.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM A. D. 1508 TO A. D. 1509.

Causes of the League of Cambrai—Julius II. discloses it to the Venetians—Preparations for Resistance—Evil Omens—Total Defeat of the Venetians at Agnadello—Louis XII. at Mestre—Terror in Venice—Loss of all her Dominions on *Terra Firma*—Fortitude of the Government—Measures for Defence—Decree releasing the Provinces from Allegiance—Favourable Negotiation with the Pope—Successful Resistance of Treviso—Surprise of Padua—Maximilian prepares for its Siege—Capture of the Duke of Mantua—Brilliant Defence of Padua—Achievements of the Chevalier Bayard—The German Men-at-arms refuse to mount the Breach—Maximilian raises the Siege in disgust.

DOGE.

LEONARDO LOREDANO.

THE lovers of minute history may have the gratification of tracing the events which now open upon us, in a great degree, to petty causes and personal feelings. That such were the *immediate* sources from which the great confederacy against Venice arose is little to be doubted; but the universal jealousy which her wealth, her prudence, and her prosperity excited, the mortification with which France, Spain, and Germany beheld themselves rivalled, and in many points excelled, by a power whose dominions did not equal a tenth part of any one of their kingdoms, were deeply rooted and of long standing. The biographer of the Chevalier Bayard has indeed approached very near the truth when he informs us, in his characteristic manner, that nothing is more certain than that the alliance of those crowns was formed "to ruin the signory of Venice, which in great pomp and with little regard to God lived gloriously and gorgeously, making small account of the other princes of Christendom; wherefore, perhaps, our lord was angry with them, as plainly ap-

peared."* The pope regarded with an evil eye the acquisitions of Venice in Romagna, some made long since, others more recently on the overthrow of Cesare Borgia; and the anger of that turbulent old man burst all restraint, when he learned that the senate, acting upon their accustomed policy of withstanding all interference in matters ecclesiastical, had refused to admit his collation of one of his nephews, whom he wished to succeed another just deceased, in the vacant see of Vicenza; and had nominated a bishop, as his title ran, "By the grace of the most excellent Council of *Pregadi*."† Forgetting that he owed his elevation to the pontificate mainly to the influence of the republic in the conclave, the impetuous priest lost not a moment in proposing to the court of France a league for the conquest of all the Venetian dominions; and the Cardinal d'Amboise, who swayed the councils of Louis XII., well remembering, on the other hand, that his hopes of the triple crown had been frustrated by the very agency for which his successful competitor now manifested himself ungrateful, eagerly stimulated his master to compliance. A motive equally personal affected the determination of Maximilian. Not only had his arms been recently and signally discomfited by the haughty republicans, but they had revived and protracted his disgrace by the triumphal reception of their victorious General d'Alviano; and by continuing to exhibit the dress, habits, manners, and language of the Germans and their emperor as objects of popular ridicule, in ludicrous spectacles, stage buffooneries, and satirical caricatures.‡ One other occurrence tended to heighten the indignation thus imprudently generated. But a few days after his signature of the late truce, Maximilian proposed to the signory an alliance for the expulsion of the French from Italy, and the division of their Cisalpine territories. That offer was not only declined, but was also revealed to Louis; and the disclosure, without creating a new friend, exasperated the virulence of a former enemy.

To these three high contracting parties was added, so far as his habitually cautious and tardy policy would allow,

* Ch. xxviii.

† Guicciardini, lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 178.

‡ *Harangue de Louis Helian*, ap. Amelot de la Houssaye, p. 804.

Ferdinand of Aragon, allured by the promised restitution of the maritime cities of Naples. But when the Cardinal d'Amboise, as plenipotentiary of France, and Margaret of Austria, the widowed Duchess of Savoy, a woman of masculine temper and attainments, as representative of her father the emperor, met at Cambrai, neither the papal nuncio nor the envoy of Spain had received full powers. Undeterred by this obstacle, which might have retarded less prompt diplomatists, the princess and the cardinal, neither of whom appears to have required assessors, negotiated with extraordinary rapidity; and, as may be surmised from a letter written by the former, not without considerable occasional vivacity of discussion. "The cardinal and I," says this high-spirited lady, "have been very nearly pulling each other's hair!" But the consent of the other powers having been assumed, they speedily reconciled any differences between themselves.

The ostensible pretext for this congress was an adjustment of the affairs of Gueldres; to which avowed object countenance was given by the employment of Margaret, who administered the government of Flanders; and a second and far greater design was rumoured to be the formation of a confederacy against the Turks. Infinite pains were taken to veil the real proceedings from the penetration of the Venetian ambassador; the King of France was lavish in his professions of continued amity, and did not hesitate to pledge the faith of a prince in confirmation of his pacific intentions. Suspicion was first excited in the breast of the secretary of the council resident at Milan, to whom it was reported that a native of Carmagnuola had been heard to express vehement delight at the prospect of soon seeing the murder of his great townsman revenged upon its perpetrators. The sagacity of the minister discovered the clew which unravelled the mystery of this boast; and he warned his government accordingly. He

Dec. 10,
1508.

was correct in his surmise; for the treaty was already signed, by which, according to its general outline, the pope was to wrest from their present lords Rimini, Faenza, and Ravenna; the emperor to enrich himself by Treviso, Istria, Friuli, Padua, Verona, and Vicenza; the King of France to obtain Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, and Cremona; and the King of Aragon and Naples to seize

upon the five great ports which Venice held in pledge, without repaying the 200,000 crowns for which they had been mortgaged. The preamble to this act of spoliation reproached the Venetians for the obstacle which they had raised against a crusade, by retaining certain dominions of the holy see; and declared the motives of the allies to be no other than to procure restitution of these usurped territories for the glory and the deliverance of Christendom.

But no sooner had Louis made powerful demonstrations of his earnestness in the cause, by rapidly assembling troops even in the depth of winter, and sedulously preparing for a passage of the Alps in the A. D. 1509. ensuing spring, than the pope repented the issue of his rash impatience. He trembled at a fresh irruption of Tramon-tanes, who would again ravage and overrun Italy; and he sought to avert, or at least to mitigate, the danger which he had too hastily provoked. Finding that some indirect suggestions were misunderstood or neglected by the Venetian ambassador, he took an opportunity of obtaining a private conversation by seating him in his own barge during a water party; and he then openly revealed the existence and the terms of the league; adding, that if the towns which he claimed were restored, he would not only forbear to ratify, but he would endeavour to dissolve it. The senate received this unwelcome and unexpected communication with surprise, but with dignity; they had been deceived and lulled into security, but they now encountered the peril when fully displayed with a fortitude which their enemies stigmatized as rash and impolitic arrogance; but which a less prejudiced judgment will attribute to a natural desire of self-preservation, a love of freedom, a consciousness of strength, and a belief in the righteousness of their cause. A brief refusal was conveyed to Julius; some fruitless attempt at negotiation was made with the emperor; an unavailing application was addressed to the Turkish sultan; and Henry VIII., who but a few months before had ascended the throne of England, and who already had been solicited by the opposite party,* was urged, but without effect, to make a descent upon France during the absence of her chief warriors.† Meantime Louis despatched a herald

* See the Treaty of Cambrai, *apud* Lunig. Codex Diplom. Ital. i. 134.

† Giustiniani (xl. p. 281) affirms that Henry acceded to the league, and

with a formal declaration of war; the pope launched the idle thunders of a bull; and in order to disembarass Maximilian from any imputation of perjury in his causeless breach of a treaty to which his signature was yet scarcely dry, Julius called upon him by name, as defender of the rights of the church, to enter the Venetian territories in arms within forty days. So flimsy is the sophistry by which a great crime can be veiled from the eyes even of its perpetrator, if its commission be advantageous to his interests!

Evil omens, as they were afterward considered, however disregarded at the time, were not wanting as harbingers of this war. Fires ravaged the small islands of the *Lagune*, and Candia trembled with an earthquake; the citadel of Brescia was damaged by lightning; a galley conveying treasure to Ravenna foundered at sea; the public registry in Venice fell to the ground, destroying numerous archives of the republic beneath its ruins; and an explosion of gunpowder blew up a great portion of the arsenal, and burned twelve galleys to the water's edge, enveloping the great council chamber in volumes of smoke, terrifying the assembled senators from their deliberations by its hideous noise, and scattering showers of ashes through the remotest quarters of the city. Lest these natural portents, which are avouched by grave historians, should fail to arouse men's vigilance and fears, a miracle was added, which, it must be confessed, however, rests on no other authority than that of a poet. Valeriano, when addressing a long copy of Latin elegiacs to his preceptor Sabellico, informs him that an image of the Virgin in the church at Lido covered the *Bambino* with her veil, and thrice uttered the fear-awakening words, "*Terra fleas!*"*

Undismayed by these prodigies, the republic marshalled her forces, amounting to 30,000 foot and nearly 18,000 horse, all well equipped and plentifully appointed. The greater part of this army was assembled on the Oglio (a

he is followed in this statement by Hume. Daru contradicts them. The Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua certainly joined the alliance, and the last two were personally distinguished in the course of the war.

* Jo. Pierii Valeriani De Portentis anteaquam totus terrarum orbis in Venetos conspiraret, printed by Roscoe, Leo X. App. lix.

secondary line of defence on the Milanese frontier, the Adda being the first) at the wish of the signory, and with the approval of their general in chief the Count di Petigliano. D'Alviano, his second in command, a soldier of more enterprising spirit, urged bolder measures; but was overruled; he wished to act upon the offensive in the outset, and to penetrate the Milanese before it was occupied by the invaders. The victories of that brave commander, in the late short German war, warranted more confidence than he appears to have inspired. His valour had raised him from the ranks; yet he offered the singular spectacle of a general who, amid the tumult of a camp, found leisure for the repose of literature; and in the campaign which we are now describing he was attended by three Venetians eminently distinguished by their genius and their cultivation of the muses, Navagiero, Fracastoro, and Giovanni Cotta; all members of an academy which D'Alviano himself had established on his domain at Pordenone. The French, meantime, in number 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot, of which last more than a fourth consisted of Swiss, advancing by rapid marches, crossed the Adda at the bridge of Cassano, about five miles from the Venetian camp, without opposition, and to the astonishment of the veteran Trivulzio; who, well acquainted with the country, and perceiving the great advantage thus gained, assured Louis that in passing that river he had already obtained a victory. During four successive days, the invaders presented themselves in front of the Venetian camp, the strength of which forbade attack, in the hope of provoking battle. But Petigliano, obstinately resolved on the defensive, remained motionless, although a village within gunshot was sacked before his eyes; and awaiting the sure operation of delay upon an enemy having to seek supplies in a hostile country, he persisted in restraining the more fiery spirit of his colleague.

This inactivity disconcerted Louis; who, with greater ardour than policy, anxiously wished to bring the Venetians to a trial of strength, before the arrival of his allies might deprive him of any portion of glory. His sole hope of forcing an action now remained in the possibility of intercepting his enemy's communication with their magazines at Crema and Cremona; and for that purpose the occupation of the little towns of Vaila and Pandino appeared neces-

sary in the first instance. Two roads approached those posts, one across a marshy plain, circuitous, but easy; the other much shorter, but along difficult heights. The French made choice of the former, and the Venetian generals, perceiving their movement, and divining its object, resolved to anticipate them by taking the shorter line. Petigliano led the van, and had already approached Vaila, when he received notice from D'Alviano that the rear* under his command was engaged, and required support. Either jealous of his brother commander, or thinking that he wished to entrap him into a battle, Petigliano answered by ordering him to continue his march, and to avoid any engagement, in obedience to the instructions of the signory. But the advice arrived too late; the rear of the Venetians was already overtaken by the French van, at a point near the village of Agnadello, where the two roads which the opposite armies were traversing, hitherto concealed from each other by a thick intervening wood, were now separated only by a ravine. D'Alviano, observing that the ground which he occupied at the moment was favourable for artillery, halted, opened a brisk cannonade, and threw the infantry, of which his force principally consisted, into some rough vineyards, which prevented the advance of the French cavalry. At first he was most successful, and his batteries mowed down the Swiss and the men-at-arms, as they ineffectually attempted the passage of the ravine, till they wavered and gave way. But at that critical moment Louis, in person, brought up the main body; the ardour of the French redoubled at the presence of their king; and the

* Mr. Roscoe, in narrating this battle, says—"Of the Venetian army D'Alviano led the attack, the Count of Petigliano with the battle and cavalry occupied the centre, and the rear-guard was commanded by Antonio de' Pili, accompanied by the Venetian commissaries," and a little onwards "their *van-guard* was defeated with immense loss" (ch. viii. vol. ii. p. 69). Now the events of the engagement plainly require that Petigliano should be in the van, and D'Alviano in the rear; without which arrangement the former, in the course of his advance, must, even against his will, have come up to the assistance of the latter. And such is the disposition which Guicciardini assigns, "Il retroguardo de' Venetiani guidato da Bartolomeo D'Alviano;" and again, "significata subitamente al Conte di Petigliano che andava innanzi," lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 302. So too Bembo—"prior ab extrema, cui Livianus præerat, tria milia passuum abesset." vii. *ad fin.* The battle is variously named by historians, Agnadello, Vaila, or Ghiara d'Adda (the gravelly bed of the Adda). It has afforded a subject for Titian's pencil.

Swiss, pressing across the dry bed of the torrent, swept through the vineyards, and drove the Venetian infantry, forced back, but not disordered, into plainer ground, upon which the men-at-arms at length could charge. Louis, sword in hand, rode to all parts of the field, amid the heaviest fire; and when solicited not to expose himself to unnecessary hazard, he answered, "This is nothing; you see that I am not afraid, and those who are so may shelter themselves behind me!"* The combat endured for three hours; and at its close, 6000 Venetian infantry, after a noble resistance, in which not a man swerved from his rank, were left upon the field.† D'Alviano, and many of his chief officers, were taken prisoners; twenty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the conquerors; and Petigliano, although not engaged, accomplished his retreat to Peschiera in safety, only by being too far in advance for pursuit.‡ D'Alviano had been wounded, while dismounted and awaiting a fresh horse, and he surrendered to the Seigneur de Vendenease, "a right little lion,"§ as he is described by Bayard's faithful chronicler. Bleeding and bruised, the prisoner was conducted to the royal tent, and honourably entertained. After dinner the king sounded a false alarm, in order to make trial of the vigilance of his troops; and having asked D'Alviano, with apparent surprise, if he could conjecture the occasion of the sudden tumult, the captured general answered, with a keen remembrance of his late abandonment by his comrades, "Sire, if there be any more battle just now, your troops must be fighting with one another; for, as for ours, I pledge my life that you will not see any more of them for a fortnight to come."||

D'Alviano beguiled his subsequent hours of confinement by writing *commentaries* on his own life, which Paulus Jovius states that he had read. The severity of his jailers

* Branteme, Louis XII.

† The Seigneur de Fleuranges, in his agreeable but not very methodical *Mémoires*, exaggerates the loss in this action to 38,000 men, an *exorbitant* sum!

‡ Daru believes that Petigliano was engaged, and quitted the field only when he perceived the fortune of the day to be adverse. Bembo is silent respecting him. Guicciardini expressly says, that the combatants became dispirited, "*sopra tutto mancando il soccorso de' suoi*;" and again yet more strongly, "*il Conte di Pitigliano s'astenne dal fatto d'arme*," lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 202.

§ Un droict petit lyon, ch. xxix.

|| Id. *ibid*

denied him the use of proper implements ; his paper therefore was of the coarsest and vilest nature ;* his pens were bristles stealthily secreted from the broom which swept the chamber, and his ink was pounded charcoal mingled with wine. The two points in this autobiography which most deeply impressed the Bishop of Nocera's memory were, that D'Alviano, like Macduff, was "from his mother's womb untimely ripped," and that he was born with Mars in the ascendant ; from which horoscope the astrologers predicted that he would be a great captain, and receive certain wounds on the head and forehead, which it was impossible he should escape.

Success was vigorously pursued ; and well were it for the fame of Louis if he had forborne from sullyng his laurels by cruelty. But as he overran the adjoining country, his main design appears to have been to fix a deep impression of terror. For that purpose he hanged the gallant soldiers who dared to maintain the walls of Caravaggio ; and in the citadel of Peschiera also, which he entered by assault after Petigliano had abandoned its defence, the whole garrison was put to the sword. There too, although the governor, a noble Venetian, proffered 100,000 ducats for the ransom of himself and his son, the king, in spite of a promise of quarter given by some of his officers, swore that he would neither eat nor drink while his enemies remained alive ; and gibbeted them both on the same gallows above the battlements of their own castle. In a fortnight after his victory, the whole of the towns which the treaty of Cambrai had apportioned to him submitted to his arms, and he received, and faithfully appropriated to the emperor, the keys of many other places belonging to the imperial allotment. The citadel of Cremona was the only stronghold which continued to resist ; and the obstinacy of its defence arose from the avarice with which Louis demanded exorbitant ransoms from the wealthy Venetians who had sought refuge in its walls, and who preferred the uttermost hazards of war to certain ruin by the disbursement of their whole substance. At length, having established his camp at Mestre, beyond which post the want of naval means forbade his army from penetrating,

* In scabrâ villique papyro et latrinis tantum, dictatâ. (Elog. Illust. vir. iv.)

he raised a battery of six guns at Fusina; and discharged from it five or six hundred cannon-shots at random, in the direction of the capital, in order that posterity might be told that the King of France had bombarded the impregnable city of Venice.*

Since that eventful morning which announced to Venice the storming of Chiozza, no disaster had befallen her which struck grief so profound into her citizens, or awakened in them so well justified a terror as the battle of Agnadello. Surprise also was mingled with alarm; for the sanguine despatches of D'Alviano had inspired strong hopes of success, from the very outset of the campaign. But now, instead of the realization of those bright prospects, the French skirted the borders of the *Lagune*; the papal troops spread themselves over Romagna, occupied the towns which the holy father claimed, and, in imitation of their allies, butchered the garrisons of such as resisted; the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua recovered those territories to which they asserted hereditary pretensions; the King of Spain, who had hitherto worn the mask of friendship, now withdrew his ambassador and despatched troops to Naples; and although the imperial army had not as yet taken the field, numerous partisans of Maximilian rose in arms, possessed themselves of many important places in Istria and Friuli, and induced Trieste and other towns won from the emperor in the late war to revert to their former master. A single blow had shattered in pieces the goodly fabric of continental dominion which it had cost Venice the toil of a century to erect; and her claim to a place in the catalogue of European states now rested solely on the scanty boundary of her islands. Her army, levied by extraordinary exertion and expense, was dissipated with scarcely a hope of recovery; for besides the heavy loss sustained in battle, desertion thinned it in flight, and disobedience and want of discipline, the too frequent consequences of defeat, impaired the fidelity and diminished the attachment of those who still abided by their leaders; so that a scanty and little-trustworthy force of 5000 horse and 1500 foot was all that could now be mustered under the walls of Verona. Even if men could be found to recruit

* Brantome, *Louis XII.* The Abbé du Bos contests this fact, and maintains that Louis XII. did not advance beyond Verona.

its battalions, money was likely to be wanting for their support. All that loans and voluntary gifts and retrenchment could produce had already been exhausted in preparation ; and if treasure could now be anywhere obtained, it seemed imperative that it should be employed principally in naval equipment ; in order to oppose a fleet which the French were preparing at Genoa, and whose most probable destination was the Adriatic.

But it seems throughout the history of this most singular people, that their seasons of deepest calamity were those which produced also the most overflowing harvests of glory. In the moments of depression and disaster upon which we are now pausing, when it might be thought that men's hearts would fail them for fear,—notwithstanding the natural agitation of the populace in the capital, the closing of the shops, the suspension of all public business, the thronging of a terrified rabble to the ducal palace and to the very doors of the council-chamber, and the hourly rumours of fresh peril which it was not easy for exaggeration to heighten beyond reality,—we find the government preserving a dignified calmness, which enabled it to consult in all things the true welfare of the republic. One aged senator, long invalided, arose from a sick couch, and was borne in a litter to the hall of assembly, that he might not be wanting to his country in the time of her trial ; and the wisdom of his advice lent fresh courage to her defenders. Their earliest precautions were naturally directed to the safety of Venice itself. All foreigners resident in the city, unless for purposes of business, were ordered to withdraw ; mills were constructed, and wells sunk in the *Aggere* ; the public tanks and granaries were cleansed and replenished ; the canals were blockaded and the buoys removed ; nightly patrols were established on the several islands ; arms were distributed among the young and able-bodied inhabitants ; and the city was placed in all points in condition to maintain a siege. The patriotism of individuals contributed large funds to the empty treasury ; fifty galleys were manned from the arsenal ; and the garrisons employed on distant stations, not only in Italy, but in Greece also and Illyria, were recalled home to join the reduced and almost disorganized army of Petigliano.

Those first and most pressing necessities having received

attention, the council next addressed itself to matters of more general import. In a spirit similar to that which animated the Romans after their overthrow at Cannæ, they despatched messengers to Petigliano, expressing thanks for his great constancy. Then by a stroke of master policy, of which we know not whether most to admire the wisdom or the magnanimity, they issued a decree releasing the endangered provinces from all obligations of fidelity to a state no longer able to afford them protection. Prudence dictated this sacrifice of a dominion which had almost ceased to exist except in imagination; for should their subjects, now enfranchised, be ever regained, they would return with an attachment strongly increased, by grateful remembrance of the generosity which had permitted them to bend to the storm, when to withstand it might be destruction. No apprehension for the future could be felt by those who were thus authorized to submit to circumstances; and at the first dawning of weakness or disunion among their conquerors, they might hasten to renew allegiance to their ancient masters, undeterred by the necessity of excusing their past involuntary abandonment. The next step was to attempt negotiation; and here, even had the signory felt any desire to treat with France, the conduct of Louis XII. must have deprived them of all expectation of success. His dissimulation and perfidy before the war, his avidity and cruelty in prosecuting it, rendered him an enemy with whom they could little hope, and scarcely indeed could wish, for compromise. To the pope they stood in a different relation; and they had sagacity enough to perceive, that having once gained the object for which he promoted the league, his interests must now strongly prompt him to free Italy from its invaders. They proffered therefore the surrender of Ravenna, the only city in Romagna which still resisted; and the Doge Loredano announced his willingness to depute six of the noblest senators, who should humble themselves at the pontifical footstool, and implore absolution for their country. This seasonable accommodation to the pride, no less than to the policy, of Julius produced the desired consequence. To withdraw at once from the league would have been too open and too violent a breach of faith; but the holy father, after a fierce ebullition of his constitutional fury,

expressed himself in gentler terms, sufficiently evincing the conduct which he would ultimately adopt.

Greater difficulties embarrassed the negotiation with the emperor; and although it was deemed advisable to tender him the lowliest submission, and to agree to his retention of every conquest which had been made in his name, Maximilian steadily refused to treat without the participation of France. Nevertheless, either from indolence or poverty, he took no measure to prosecute with activity the war which he had resolved to continue; and even when Louis, satisfied with his glory, and having nothing more to conquer, set out on his return to France, only one small corps of a few hundred imperialists had entered Lombardy, to garrison the fortresses which, although surrendered, were as yet by no means secured. Those troops sufficed for the occupation of Padua; but on the appearance of a detachment before Treviso, so scanty a force excited contempt among the inhabitants, who regarded the proposed change of masters with undisguised reluctance. The cry of *Marco* was heard in their streets; the Venetian standard was raised on their battlements; the Germans hastily retired, and at the moment in which the whole of *Terra Firma* was deemed lost, this fidelity of the Trevisians revived the hope of brighter fortunes, gave an earnest of the recovery of dominion, and checked the hitherto retrograde movement of the Venetian army. Petigliano, secure of an advantageous rallying point; once more advanced, and took up a strong position between Marghéra and Mestre.

Yet more important results were speedily produced by this example of constancy. The government of Venice had pressed far less heavily upon the Lombard cities than that to which they now found themselves subjected, and in most of them a strong party existed looking with anxiety for the moment at which they might emancipate themselves from their recent fetters. In Padua, the middle classes and the populace, to a man, were favourable to Venice: the nobles, on the other hand, hoping to establish more extensive aristocratical privileges and ampler feudal rights by the assistance of the court of Austria, espoused the side of Maximilian; and their reasons, when once penetrated, increased the desire of the citizens to escape from German

thralldom. Little more than three weeks had elapsed since the occupation of their city by about 800 imperialists, when the doge Loredano received intimation of the wishes of the burghers, and was implored to second them. At first he shrank from the peril of an enterprise so daring, and so calculated to provoke greater activity on the part of the emperor; but, stimulated by bolder spirits in the council, he ordered Andrea Gritti, than whom no officer of the republic was better calculated for the service, to hold himself in readiness to act in concert with the Paduans. Before dawn, on the 24th of July, 400 men-at-arms and 2000 foot placed themselves in ambuscade within a bow-shot of the city. It was the season of the second Italian hay-harvest, and every day a numerous train of wagons laden with the crop used to enter Padua; their appearance therefore on the appointed morning did not excite suspicion, the draw-bridge was lowered, and the convoy filed slowly through the gates. In the rear of the fifth carriage, concealed by those which preceded it, Gritti had placed six horsemen, each carrying behind him a foot-soldier with his harquebuse loaded. Not more than thirty German lansquenets sentinelled the gate; and as this wagon passed under it, the men-at-arms raised the cry of *Marco*; their comrades, slipping from the cruppers, discharged their pieces with so sure an aim that each killed his man; a trumpet sounded for the advance of the troops in ambush; and, roused by the same signal, more than 2000 of the inhabitants, rudely armed, but breathing deadly enmity against the Germans, poured out from their houses. The lonesome and widely-dispersed streets of Padua afforded full room for battle; and during the two hours in which it raged, the imperialists sold their lives dearly, and slew 1500 of their opponents, before, overpowered by numbers, they were wholly cut to pieces.*

The news of the recovery of Padua was received in Venice with transports of joy. The day on which that great success was obtained, the translation of *S. Marina*, was already celebrated as a feast; but it was now further ennobled by a decree instituting a yearly *andata* of the doge and senate to return thanks in the church of that martyr, in

* Ils furent ouverts, rompus, et tous mis en pieces, sans que jamais on fust un à mercy. Qui fust grosse pitié.—Hist. du Ch. Bayard, xxx.

which the keys of the restored city were solemnly deposited. In Maximilian, the unexpected intelligence occasioned pain and indignation fully equal to the delight of his enemies ; he vowed deep revenge, applied to the King of France for the assistance of 500 men-at-arms, and undertook in person to reduce and punish the revolted city. Louis willingly accorded the required detachment ; but, disgusted by the coldness hitherto manifested by his ally, he did not hesitate to proceed on his own return to France, after arranging an interview which Maximilian purposely failed to attend. The seeds of dissension indeed were already fast ripening among the associated princes, and the bonds of their confederacy became every hour more weakened and relaxed.

In order to embarrass the emperor while on his march, the Venetians, now freed from the immediate presence of the French, commenced a variety of diversions. Their galleys hovered on the coasts of Friuli and Istria, menaced Fiume and Trieste, and relieved Udino. Advanced detachments skirmished on the frontier line, and a bold *coup de main* by night surprised the Marquis of Mantua negligently posted in the *Isola della Scala* on the Tanaro. The prince leaped from the window of his quarters in his shirt, and concealed himself in a stack of grain near at hand ; but his hiding place was discovered and revealed by some peasants, whose fidelity was proof against the huge bribes which he offered for secrecy. He was conveyed to Venice, and retained in close but honourable confinement in a tower of the palace.

Notwithstanding these partial successes, it was soon perceived that it would be impossible to prevent the investment of Padua, and the signory therefore prepared most vigorously for its defence. Upon its preservation appeared to depend the fate of Venice herself ; and accordingly neither skill nor toil was omitted to render it impregnable. Petigliano and Gritti entered it with the whole army, amounting to nearly 25,000 men, part regulars, part *Stradiotti*, and part *Scappoli*, Sclavonians taken from the galleys, an active though somewhat undisciplined body. The doge Loredano, in order to manifest the high value which he placed upon the safety of this great outwork of his capital, and to mark the identification of his own personal interests with those of his country, sent his two sons, with

a body-guard of 100 picked men, to partake the dangers of the garrison; and three hundred patricians, each accompanied by a brilliant suite, enrolled themselves as volunteers in the like service. All the approaches to the city were undermined; new bastions strengthened the long line of curtain; the ramparts groaned with artillery conveyed from Venice; inner batteries and a second fosse were constructed; every hut and tree within a mile of the walls which might afford lodgment to an enemy was swept away; the neighbouring peasants eagerly flocked from their villages to relieve the soldiery in their labours; and the generals, having erected an altar in the great *Piazza di San Antonio*, after the celebration of mass harangued the garrison and inhabitants, and received fresh oaths of fidelity and renewed assurances that they would maintain the city or perish under its ruins.

The march of the emperor was retarded by the difficulty of transporting his park of artillery, the greatest ever yet prepared since the invention of ordnance. Two hundred heavy cannon, and many bombards whose enormous size forbade the use of carriages, and which could be discharged at the utmost but four times a day, were destined for this siege; and not more than half of them could be brought up at a time, on account of the deficiency of horses. At length, on the 15th of September, a host sat down under Padua, which, both from its great numbers and its variety of tongues, reminds us of that with which King Agramante and his paynims beleaguered Paris, for the love of Angelica, and to avenge the death of Troiano. Maximilian arrived on the plain, says Bayard's chronicler, in the true guise of an emperor, and if the mighty company which he brought with him would but have performed its duty, surely it was enough for the conquest of the world. Among the Germans there were of dukes, counts, marquises, princes, and lords, 120, and about 12,000 cavalry; of men-at-arms of Burgundy and Hainault five or six hundred; the lanquenets were without number; 12,000 Germans, 6000 Spaniards, an equal number of adventurers from different countries, and 2000 Ferrarese; probably all together more than 50,000 fighting men; the Cardinal of Ferrara was deputed, by his brother the duke with 120 lances, 3000 infantry, and twelve pieces of artillery; the Cardinal of Man-

tua led a somewhat larger force; and the 500 French knights under the Seigneur de la Palisse comprised among them Bayard and many of his most celebrated companions. On the whole, not fewer than 100,000 combatants spread themselves chiefly under the northern walls, in a semicircle of nearly four miles in length, from the gate of Sta. Croce to that of Coda lunga. Maximilian, as if he had cast his slough of indolence and become endowed with a new spirit by the magnificence of the scene, fixed his head-quarters at a Carthusian monastery, Sta. Elena, within half cannon-shot of the ramparts. There he exhibited distinguished personal bravery, mingled with the engineers, animated their labours, and so ably and actively conducted his preparations that within five days the batteries were opened. During their construction an attempt to turn the course of the Brenta failed, from an inaccuracy in the levels.

No sooner had the firing in breach commenced, than an attack was directed, by the French and a detachment of Germans, on a ravelin near the gate Portello, which leads to Venice; not so much, as we are told, for any serious object as to make essay of the enemy's inclination to fight; and of that intention the assailants received sufficient assurance to induce them to retire to their quarters in no small haste.* In that affair Bayard greatly distinguished himself; penetrating four barriers, raised at one hundred paces from each other, and which could be carried only by an attack in front, where the narrow approach, diked on each side, was swept by a long range of artillery. The last of these barriers was distant but a stone's throw from the gate; and it was so fiercely contested that the brave knight was obliged to leap from his horse and rush on, sword in hand, "as a lioness who has been robbed of her cubs springs with her mates to their deliverance." Satisfied with this display of prowess, he then advised a return.†

Bayard's other personal encounters during this siege were of an equally chivalrous and romantic character with his first adventure; but they chiefly occurred with the *Stradiotti*, whose rapid war of partisanship was incalculably useful to the garrison. Every day they penetrated the hostile lines, carrying off booty and prisoners, foraged the

* Senza molta delazione.—Guicc. lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 246.

† Hist. du Ch. Bayard, xxxiii.

neighbouring districts, or eluding superior numbers, secured the entrance of convoys to the city. On one occasion, when the military pay was in arrear, and a remittance was expected from Venice, 300 of these light horsemen stealthily gained the mouth of the Brenta, and disembarking the treasure, divided it among such of their number as were most fleetly mounted. Then, having laden two strong mules with heavy sandbags, they placed them in the centre of their march, and on the appearance of a patrol of Germans affected to guard them with peculiar anxiety. The result answered their expectation; while the enemy eagerly attacked the mules, the troopers who really carried the money rode off at full speed unregarded, and outstripped pursuit before the stratagem was discovered.

Not all the *Stradiotti*, however, were equally fortunate; for soon afterward Bayard brought into the camp nearly sixty of their troop, after a rencounter, in which one of his suite gained much deserved reputation. A young gentleman of Dauphiny, a son of the Lord of Boutieres, although not quite seventeen years of age, yet coming of a noble stock, and having great desire to tread in the steps of his ancestors, in a charge upon a company of Venetian cross-bowmen, threw himself upon their standard-bearer, who was entangled in a ditch, and took him prisoner, notwithstanding he was twice his own age and size. On carrying this notable prize before his master, Bayard, with some surprise, asked if the prisoner were really of his own taking? "In good sooth, my lord, he is," replied the youth, to the great entertainment of the chevalier; "and, please God, he did right well to surrender, or I should certainly have killed him."—"This young gentleman," rejoined the knight, turning to some Venetian captains whom he himself had taken, and whom he was entertaining at table with his usual courtesy, "has been my page but six days, and as yet, you may perceive, has but little beard: in France, we do not trust our standards unless to hands which can defend them." The ancient, abashed at the obvious deduction from these words so unfavourable to his courage, swore roundly that he had not surrendered from any fear of his captor, who, single-handed, never could have taken him; but that it was impossible for any man by himself to fight against a host. "Do you hear that, little Boutieres,"

said Bayard, "your prisoner says you are not the man to take him!"—"Will my lord grant me but one favour?" asked the gallant and high-mettled youth.—"Name it," replied Bayard.—"That I may return the prisoner his horse and arms, and after I have mounted on my own, that we may step a little aside: then, if I take him again, before God, he shall die; but if he can escape, he shall go ransomless." Bayard was never better pleased than with this spirited demand, and joyously accorded the desired permission. Not so, however, the braggart Venetian, and no one need inquire whether he was the laughing-stock of the camp when he declined the challenge which Boutieres thus freely offered.*

The artillery of the garrison was better served than that of the besiegers, "for one shot which we gave them, they returned us two;" nevertheless, in four days 20,000 rounds were discharged from the German batteries. Under that most terrific fire, three breaches were speedily laid into one, of four or five hundred paces in breadth, and capable of admitting 1000 men abreast; "was not this a goodly passage for an assault?" But in the rear of that enormous gap, Petigliano had sunk a fosse twenty feet wide and deep, filled almost to the brink with barrels of powder intermixed with fascines; enfiladed by flanking batteries, as well as by others, which presented a murderous line against an advance in front; and having beyond it, within the town, an esplanade of sufficient size for the battle array of 20,000 men. The French were warned of these formidable defences by some of their own company who had been taken prisoners; and to whom, before they were ransomed, the works were exhibited, with expressions savouring of contempt of the Germans, and admiration of themselves. "Were it not for *your* men-at-arms," said Petigliano, "in four-and-twenty hours I would make a sortie which should oblige the emperor to raise the siege with ignominy."

Maximilian, no doubt, was deterred from attempting a storm by intelligence of these preparations, which made the breach, however large, utterly impracticable; for on the tenth morning, when the army was marshalled and awaited

* Hist. du Ch. Bayard, xxxv.

the signal for advance, it was again dismissed to its quarters, on a plea that the ditches had been filled during the night, and could not be passed. The water, however, subsided by the next day; yet even then no attempt was made beyond the attack of an outwork, hastily thrown up as a defence for the Coda lunga gate; from which the besiegers were repulsed. Part of the bastion Della Gatta, near this outwork, being subsequently battered down, it was assaulted two days afterward by the Spanish and German infantry, who fought with incredible fury, scaled the wall after infinite loss, and succeeded in mounting two standards on the breastwork. The explosion of a mine, however, destroyed them almost to a man; and the few survivors, grievously hurt and wounded, sought refuge in their own lines, where their comrades were waiting but for their establishment on the bastion to commence a general assault. But all hope of immediate success was abandoned on this discomfiture, and the troops again returned to their quarters.

The sole remaining occurrence in this remarkable siege is in all points so strongly tinged with the manners of the age to which it belongs,—so strikingly displays the inadequacy of any force, however numerous and well appointed, unless it be controlled also by a strict discipline and subordination,—and so vividly illustrates the fanciful distinctions of rank and the punctilioes of conventional honour which were still fondly nursed by chivalry, even in those days of its fast approaching decline,—that we shall relate it for the most part in the appropriate words of the biographer of the knight *sans peur et sans reproche*. The emperor with his German princes and barons, having one morning reconnoitred the huge breach, now exposing the city for nearly half a mile, marvelled greatly, and felt no small shame, that, notwithstanding his mighty host, he was still baffled. Retiring therefore to his tent, he dictated a despatch for the Lord of Palisse conceived in the following terms. “My cousin,—Having found the breach which I have just reconnoitred more than reasonably large for those who will do their duty, I propose to storm it this very day: I pray you, therefore, that so soon as my great drum shall sound, which will be about noon, you will hold in readiness all those French gentlemen who, by the commandment of the King of France, my brother, are at my service under your orders, to

accompany my infantry to the assault, which I trust, through God's aid, will succeed." The Lord of Palisse, on receiving this despatch, found the method of proceeding strange enough; nevertheless he dissembled, and summoned all his captains to his quarters. On their arrival, he said, "Gentlemen, we must go to dinner, for I have that to tell which if I name it beforehand peradventure may spoil your cheer." But this he said right merrily, for he well knew the temper of his companions, that there was not one among them other than a Hector or an Orlando;* and especially that good knight who never in his life was surprised by any thing which he either saw or heard. Nevertheless, during dinner they did little else but look at one another. After the repast was ended and the quarters were cleared of all except the captains, the Lord of Palisse communicated to them the emperor's despatch, which he read twice for their better understanding. When it had been thus read, each knight regarded the other with a smile, to see who should first begin to speak; till the Lord of Humbercourt, addressing himself to La Palisse, said, "Monseigneur, you may send word to the emperor that we are quite ready; since, for my part, I am tired of lying in the field now the nights begin to grow cold, and moreover our good wine is failing us." At which sally they all laughed, and every knight spake in his turn and agreed with the Lord of Humbercourt.

La Palisse, in the end, turning to the Chevalier Bayard, who had not as yet opened his lips in anywise, perceived that he was picking his teeth, and made as if he did not understand the proposition of his comrades, so he addressed him thus: "Well now, you Hercules of France, and what say you? this is no fit time to be picking your teeth, for we must send a prompt answer to the emperor." The good knight, who loved a merry jest, returned pleasantly, "Sirs, if we were indeed to follow the Lord of Humbercourt in all seriousness, we should go this moment to the breach: but as marching on foot is a somewhat troublesome pastime to a man-at-arms, I, for one, should willingly excuse myself.

* A favourite mode of expression used not long after by the Macaronic writer Merlino Coccaio.

Quo non Hectorior, quo non Orlandior alter.

Nevertheless, since I must speak my opinion, I will deliver it at once, and openly. The emperor in his despatch requires that you should dismount all the French gentlemen to go to the assault with his lansquenets. Now, for myself, little as I have of this world's goods, I have always borne myself as a true gentleman, and all of you, my lords, have large possessions and come of great houses, and so do many others of our men-at-arms. Can the emperor then think it reasonable to put so much nobility in peril side by side with his infantry; of whom one is a cobbler, another a farrier, a third a baker, and every one some sort of mechanic, who has not his honour by any means in so great esteem as the poorest gentleman? such a step, saving the emperor's grace, is taken with too little reflection. My advice therefore is, that the Lord of Palisse should send this answer, that he has assembled his captains according to his imperial majesty's will, who are all well resolved to obey his majesty's order, according to the charge which they have received from the king their master. But that his imperial majesty must be well acquainted that the King of France has none excepting gentlemen in his companies of ordonnance,* and that to mix such persons of honour with foot-soldiers, who are men of low condition, would be to show little esteem for noble birth. Nevertheless, if his majesty will please to dismount some of his own German counts, barons, and gentlemen, together with the gentlemen of France, the latter will readily show them the way, and the lansquenets may then follow if they think good."

This reply was communicated to the emperor, by whom it was approved, and immediately assembling by sound of drum and trumpet the princes, lords, and captains of Ger-

* The *compagnies d'ordonnance* were established by Charles VII. in 1444, and constituted the standing army of France. A gentleman, in the acceptance of the French in the sixteenth century, was not only one born of noble lineage, but even a *roturier* of the *tiers état*, who made arms his sole profession; and, by so doing, differed from the *lansquenets* or *fantassins*, who, enrolling themselves but for a season, returned to their trades, as Bayard states above, at the end of a campaign. Dubos has a valuable Preliminary Dissertation to his *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, on the military establishments at the commencement of the sixteenth century, in which these distinctions are well explained.

many, Burgundy, and Hainault, he announced to them his pleasure. When he had finished speaking, a very marvelous and strange noise arose on a sudden among the Germans, which endured for the space of half an hour before it was appeased; and then one of their company was deputed to acquaint the emperor that they were not persons who would demean themselves by marching on foot, nor by entering a breach; and that their true estate was to fight like gentlemen on horseback: and no other answer could the emperor obtain. Great was his displeasure thereat; nevertheless he replied only by saying, "Well then, gentlemen, we must do for the best;" and forthwith he sent to the Lord of Palisse, countermanding the assault for that day. Then shutting himself up in his quarters, deeply mortified and indignant, he took horse on the following morning two hours before daybreak; and accompanied by only five or six of his most confidential attendants, he rode forty miles from the camp without drawing bit; and despatched immediate orders for raising the siege after fifteen days' investment.* The Venetians, justly proud of their successful defence, affirmed that to narrate with adequate eloquence this preservation of his native city, would require the resurrection of Livy himself. The effect produced by the abandonment of the enterprise was, as we shall perceive, most important to the fortunes of the republic.

* *Hist. du Ch. Bayard*, xxxvii. xxxviii.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM A. D. 1509 TO A. D. 1516.

Reconciliation with Julius II.—Harangue of Louis Helian at the Diet of the Empire—Campaigns of 1510 and 1511—The Holy League—Gaston de Foix commands the French—Storm of Brescia—Generosity of Bayard—Battle of Ravenna—Alliance between Venice and France—Accession of Leo X.—Battle of Novarra—Battle of Motta—Accession of Francis I.—Battle of Marignano—Death of d'Alviano—Treaty of Noyon, and Conclusion of the Wars arising out of the League of Cambrai.

DOGE.

LEONARDO LOREDANO.

It is probable that during the inglorious operations which we have just related, Maximilian was betrayed both by Julius and Ferdinand; each of whom, already determined upon reconciliation, if not secretly in accordance with Venice, may have ordered his generals to co-operate but languidly with the army of the league. Be this as it may, the emperor, once more impoverished and dishonoured, returned to his own dominions; his troops broke up and dispersed; Padua was delivered; the Venetians, spreading, without resistance, over the adjoining districts, recovered many of their former possessions; refused a truce which Maximilian was sufficiently humbled to propose; and before he had reached Trent, on his route to Germany, had established themselves under the walls of Verona.

The death of the Count di Petigliano, which occurred in the beginning of 1510,* was a disaster felt, perhaps, more acutely by the signory than even the total de-
A. D.
1510.

* Bembo, x. p. 355, states that he died on the 26th Jan. 1510. Guicciardini, lib. x. vol. ii. p. 240, places his decease before the close of 1509. The former is most probably correct.

many weeks before.* The rare fidelity and great military experience of Petigliano were qualities not easily to be replaced, and he was gifted with yet another excellence which rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the habits of the Venetian government,—a calm and deliberate judgment, never seduced by a passion for glory into any rash enterprise, and willingly abandoning the chance of success if it were to be obtained only by an equal hazard of disaster. It might have been supposed that Venice would select a general-in-chief from among the numerous brave officers already in her service; but the temper of the *condottieri* was too jealous to allow a hope of subordination, if any individual of their own number, unless distinguished by the accident of birth, were elevated above his fellows. Thus, through one of those remarkable contradictions of ordinary and established politics which the Italian annals so frequently present, it was from their prisons that the signory now sought a commander. The high post of chief of their armies, which he had filled, not wholly without suspicion, a few years before, was again tendered to Francesco of Mantua, and joyfully accepted by him, without a moment's scruple as to the solemn engagements to the violation of which such an appointment must necessarily lead. His fidelity was to be guaranteed by the delivery of his son as hostage; but whether from a reasonable mistrust of her lord's constancy, from maternal fondness, or from an apprehension of exposing Mantua to the resentment of France, Gonzaga's consort, when applied to for ratification, refused the desired pledge, and the prince was remanded to confinement. Before the close of the year, however, by a singular concurrence of opposite interests, the menaces of the Turkish sultan, with whom he had always maintained an amicable correspondence, and the solicitations of the head of the Christian church, to whose policy his release was advantageous, obtained freedom for Gonzaga.

Disappointed in their first application, the signory next wished to nominate Andréa Gritti to the important vacant

* This victory of Alfonso, and his brother the Cardinal Ippolito, at Polesina, is, more than once, a theme of praise in the hands of Ariosto, (III. 87. xxxvi. *ad in. xl. ad fin.*) The last-mentioned passage disproves a belief which has sometimes been entertained, that the poet himself was present at the action.

office; and if that great man had accepted the charge, the armies of Venice would have been led to the field, for the second time in her history, by a native general. But even the proud distinction of ranking by the side of Carlo Zeno, the most illustrious of his countrymen, failed to seduce the honest judgment and the sure-sighted wisdom of Gritti. He pleaded inexperience in military affairs unless as a *proveditore*; and pointing to the more than ordinary dangers in which his country was involved, he earnestly besought the signory to look around for surer guidance. Compelled by this refusal to select from the mass, they ultimately intrusted the command of their army, now too weak for more than defensive war, to Paolo Baglione, an officer not long before engaged under the papal banners.

This transition from one service to another directly hostile to it was by no means uncommon in Italian military history; and in the instance mentioned above, the reconciliation of Julius to Venice removed all appearance of inconsistency. More than ever alarmed by the increasing influence of the French within the Alps, to which the failure of Maximilian before Padua had largely contributed, the pope resolved no longer to support the impolitic league to which his passion had given birth. Nevertheless, while receiving the Venetians once again into communion with the church, he rigidly exacted most of those penalties which the power of the keys enabled him to demand. Their deputation of nobles, instead of displaying customary diplomatic pomp, entered Rome by night, clad in penitential garb;* testified their contrition in the seven *basilica*; and humbled themselves upon their knees, while supplicating absolution, before the papal throne, ostentatiously raised in front of the brazen portals of the Vatican. It was esteemed no ordinary condonation that the stripes were remitted which it was sometimes customary for the pope and cardinals to inflict; and the master of the ceremonies, to whose official care was intrusted the arrangement of this spectacle, strenuously insisted upon the necessity of adhering to that edifying custom. Among other precedents, he cited

* Erano entrati con abiti e con modi miserabili i sei oratori del senato Veneziano, i quali essendo consueti a entrarvi con pompa e fasto grandissimo.—Guicciardini, lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 232.

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that of Innocent VIII., who, having summoned before him the *gonfaloniere* and one of the ancients of Bologna, for hanging a priest and a Franciscan in the streets of their city, stripped them naked to their very drawers, and flogged them with unsparing severity, not only by his own hands, but by those also of numerous assistants, during the recital of no less than three out of the seven penitential psalms. Alexander VI., yet more recently, had exercised a nearly similar vengeance on some refractory Aſculans; and the pontifical *arbitrator elegantiarum*, confiding on those sound authorities, recommended that the cardinal penitentiary should deliver thirteen rods, one to each of his officiating brother cardinals; and the last, more handsomely finished than the rest, and distinguished by a napkin at the handle, for the pope's own use. With these scourges, a slight blow was to be inflicted on the shoulders of the envoys during the recital of each verse of the *Miserere*.* Julius, however, had good taste enough to remit this unseemly degradation; and the idle submissions which he really exacted, however galling to the pride, by no means diminished the power of Venice. But it must have been with no slight regret that she consented, for a while, to permit the exercise of uncontrolled ecclesiastical jurisdiction within her dominions; and to concede free navigation of the Adriatic to natives of the ecclesiastical states, without demanding toll, or asserting any right of search. The renewal of good-will thus effected is partly attributable to Henry VIII. of England, whose martial spirit and abundant treasure rendered him a most important advocate. At Easter, in this year, he received from Julius the consecrated golden rose, annually bestowed upon some one sovereign as the highest token of pontifical favour; and it is recorded that before the presentation of that special mark of grace and amity, Christopher Bam-

* The formulary drawn up by De Grassis, is printed at length in the *Annal. Eccl.* of Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1510. Of the Bolognese he says that they were ordered "per penitentiarios omnes acriter percuti, et quidem totaliter nudos, etiam sine caligis, sed solis campestribus sive brachiis, et quidem percuti fecit donec tres ex septem Psalmis penitentialibus dicerentur." The pope's rod is described as *virga una pulchrior pro Pontifice, cum manutergio in extremitate*. We are not certain that we have rendered *manutergium* correctly, but we know not what else to substitute. Was the punishment so bloody that it was necessary for the holy executioner to wipe his hands during its infliction?

bridge, Archbishop of York, the English ambassador at the Vatican, very strongly urged the holy father not to war against Venice, a state which, if it did not exist, ought, he said, to be created by the common consent of mankind, for the welfare and the glory of the universe.*

Of the bitter feelings still entertained against Venice, however, by the two chief powers associated in the league of Cambrai, a very remarkable evidence is preserved in a speech pronounced by the French ambassador, Louis Helian, at the opening of a diet of the empire, convened by Maximilian in order to obtain succours for a continuance of the war. The authenticity of that choice model and rich exemplar of all future invectives is undisputed; but, since it has frequently been printed, we may content ourselves by noticing a few of its most vehement passages. "These Venetians," says the energetic orator, "who have abandoned the cause of Heaven, deserve to be execrated by God and man, to be hunted down by sea and land, and to be exterminated by fire and sword. It would be easy to show that these crafty and malignant foxes, these proud and furious lions, have entertained the design of subjugating Italy first, and the Roman empire afterward. If you have weakened them, follow up the blow and extinguish them altogether; for unless you promptly bruise the head of this venomous serpent while it is yet stunned by your first stroke, I warn you, that so soon as it has recovered, it will one day infect you all with its deadly poison, and strangle both yourselves and your successors in its inextricable coils." Then producing Alexander, Scipio, Cæsar, Ulysses, Antiochus Epiphanes, C. Marius, Trajan, Antonine, Constantine, and Q. Varus,—the Usipeti, the Tencteri, the Suevi, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Catti, the Sicambri, the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Goths, as illustrations of so many separate commonplaces; he adds a remark which, if it were more fully explained, might furnish a key to the mysterious fate of Carmagnuola; namely, that through the ingratitude of the republic that unhappy nobleman, the greatest captain of his time, was beheaded *for a few words of railery which had escaped him.*† Dwelling with keen sarcasm upon the

* Bembo, ix. p. 347.

† *Propter facetum aut cavillosum dictum.*

maritime ascendancy of the Venetians, the ambassador next proceeds to stigmatize them as brides of Neptune or husbands of Thetis, who espouse the sea by a ring; a folly unheard of among other naval powers, whether they be Tyrians, Carthaginians, Rhodians, Athenians, Romans, Persians, or Genoese; but worthily adopted by "these insatiate whales, these infamous corsairs, these pitiless cyclops and polyphemi, who on all sides besiege the ocean, and are far more to be dreaded than any sea-monsters, quicksands, sunken rocks, or hurricanes." In a few other similar flowers of vituperative rhetoric they are described as devoted to Mohammed, not to Jesus; boasters who assert that they will drag his Christian majesty to their dungeons in chains, and make the pope their chaplain in ordinary;* wicked harpies, venomous aspicks, sanguinary tigers, neither Turks nor Christians, but a third sect occupying a middle station between good and bad angels, neither belonging to heaven nor to hell; a sort of *loups garous* and mischievous goblins, who wander by night through men's houses, raise storms at sea, destroy the peasants' crops by hail, and take possession of human bodies in order to torment them. On these very reasonable grounds the diet is invoked to arouse itself for the utter destruction of this haughty republic, the wink of all pollutions, the receptacle of every vice, a state produced for the ruin and persecution of mankind at large.

A few scattered incidental passages betray more distinctly than the above railing accusations the actual reasons which inspired this great bitterness of enmity: and from the reluctant confession of her adversaries we learn duly to appreciate the gigantic might of Venice. Power, subtlety, and ambition she doubtless possessed: but it is added that she is never to be forgiven for having dared to encounter in the field the armies of four great confederated princes; for having wrested from the King of Hungary three hundred islands, two extensive provinces, twelve Episcopal cities, and a range of ports spreading along five hundred miles of coast; for her repeated triumphs over the emperors of Constantinople, the lords of Padua and Verona, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, the emperors of the West, the

* Pontificem Maximum, parvum capellanum et minimum altaris ministrum facturos.

popes, and the kings of Naples. "Gods!" exclaims the orator, "what is the abyss, what is the bottomless ocean which could absorb and engulf so vast possessions at once! Not a century has elapsed since these fishermen emerged from their bogs; and no sooner have they placed foot on *Terra Firma* than they have acquired greater dominion by perfidy, than Rome won by arms in the long course of two hundred years; and they have already concerted plans to bridge the Don, the Rhine, the Seine, the Rhone, the Tagus, and the Ebro, and to establish their rule in every province of Europe. These are the people who speak of themselves as sole possessors of nobility, as the only sages of the earth. For us, who do not walk the streets in purple, nor hoard treasure in our coffers, nor crowd our beaufets with plate, we in their eyes are barbarians, sots, and idiots; they hate us, they scorn us, they insult us; and both French and Germans are held up by them to mockery and ridicule. What security indeed can Christendom expect from this wicked republic while she is allowed to retain Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, the islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Candia, and Cyprus!"* It is scarcely possible for national jealousy to exhibit itself in stronger colouring than that which imbues this harangue; which, indeed, furnishes an invaluable commentary, not only on the external relations of Venice, but on the general condition of Europe during the time at which it was delivered.

Maximilian, aided by subsidies from his German subjects and by French auxiliaries, prepared for a fresh campaign, and by numerical superiority chased the Venetians from most of their fortresses on the Adige and the Brenta. The war was conducted with unusual ferocity, and we read with horror of two thousand fugitives from Verona, many of noble stock (Bembo raises the sufferers to thrice that number†), suffocated in a neighbouring stone-quarry, the Grot of Longaro; whose unknown depths and intricate

* We have thrown together detached passages of Helian's speech, which may be found entire, among other pieces, appended to Justinian's History (Argentorati, 1611), where the original Latin is given; it is translated at the end of Amelot de la Housaye, *Hist. du Gouvern. de Venise*.

† Bembo, x. p. 370. Guicciardini names this cavern "la Grotta di Massano," and adds, "dove è fama morissero più di mille persone," lib. ix. vol. ii. p. 287.

windings afforded a refuge from which their pursuers were unable to dislodge them. The savage French adventurers, lusting for booty, having piled straw and other combustibles at the narrow mouth of the cavern, set them on fire till the rock glowed like a furnace. All within, except a single individual, perished in torment; some of the women in the agony of untimely throes, together with their new-born babes. One youth, having penetrated the very bowels of the *southern*, and having unexpectedly found a scanty supply of air from a fissure above, was dragged out some hours afterward "more dead than alive, so discoloured was he by smoke." Bayard's generous nature revolted at this inhumanity; he could obtain evidence against two only of the perpetrators, and those he delivered to the provost-marshal and saw them hanged, in his own presence, on the spot which they had polluted by their crying wickedness.* Scarcely less cruelty was manifested at the storm of Monselice, where all quarter was denied; most of the garrison perished in the flames of the last tower to which they had retired; and a few, who leaped from the battlements in despair, were caught on pikes below.

One exploit of Andréa Gritti, during this for the most part unsuccessful campaign, must not be passed in silence. The confederates had stormed Porto Legnano, and during its occupation they were frequently harassed by some neighbouring Venetian posts. Gritti was especially active in those rencounters, and on one occasion he overthrew and put to the sword an entire French detachment. Of three hundred men not one escaped to convey intelligence of their defeat; and upon that circumstance Gritti founded a shrewd stratagem, from which he conceived strong hopes of recovering the town. Stripping the corpses of the slain, he clad an equal number of his own troops in the armour of the slaughtered French; mounted them on the captured chargers; and leaving five or six score of their comrades in their proper appointments, and in the guise of prisoners, he despatched the band upon Legnano, crying "France, France! Victory, Victory!" Himself, with the remainder of his men, tarried a short space behind, awaiting a trumpet

* *Hist. du Ch. Bayard*, xl. where the author records that of the two ruffians thus executed, one had but a single ear, the other none at all; pretty clear evidence of punishment for former acts of villainy.

which he ordered to be sounded as soon as the gates should be opened ; a result of which no doubt was apprehended. It so happened, however, that the lieutenant of the garrison was a sagacious captain, who had seen much service ; and he, mounting the ramparts when he heard the clarions and the joyous war-cry, attentively reconnoitred the company below. After a while he remarked to an officer in attendance, " Certes, those are our horses, and the accoutrements also belong to our men ; but I do not think the soldiers ride after our fashion, and I am much deceived if they are ours ; in truth, my heart misgives me that some misfortune has befallen us. Go you down, lower the drawbridge, and when you have passed it see that it be raised again ; if they are our people, you will readily know them ; if they are enemies, save yourself as well as you can behind the barriers, and I have here two falcons loaded which shall succour you with speed." The officer obeyed, issued from the fort, and approached and challenged the foremost horsemen. Without reply, they moved on briskly, thinking that the drawbridge was still lowered ; the captain jumped over the barriers, the two falcons opened their fire, and Legnano was saved ; but not, as the honest narrator concludes, without great shame and loss to the French.*

In the year which followed, the appearance of Julius II. in arms at the head of his troops,—his narrow escape at Bologna, which he had recently annexed A. D. 1511. by force to the papal dominions, and which had subsequently been again taken by the French,—his presence in the trenches under a deep snow at the siege of Mirandula, which he swore by St. Peter and St. Paul should be won by either fair or foul means,—his entrance of the captured city by its breach,—his flight before Bayard, during which, we are told, " if he had stopped to say but a single paternoster," and if he had not, like a man of true spirit, assisted in raising with his own hands the drawbridge of San Felice, he must inevitably have been taken,†—and the

* *Hist. du Ch. Bayard*, xli. Bonaccorsi also relates this adventure, which is passed in silence by all the greater Italian historians. It is plain that Guicciardini had never heard of it, for he expressly says Legnano was so weakened by the cutting off this detachment, che se vi si fossero volto subito la gente Veneziana l' avrebbero preso, lib. ix. vol. ii. p. 319.

† Car s'il eust autant demeuré qu'on mettrait à dire un Paternoster
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subsequent assembly of the councils of Pisa and the Lateran, whose decrees breathed scarcely less fury than these feats of positive war,—all these remarkable incidents are abundantly related elsewhere by standard writers familiar to English ears; and Venice, although materially affected by most of those events, took little direct part in any one of them. We pass on therefore to the new confederacy which astonished Europe before the close of Oct. 5. 1511; the *Holy League*, as it was termed, by which the pope, the Venetians, and Ferdinand of Aragon, who were now seeking the depression of France, bound themselves by mutual ties to maintain the unity of the church, and to expel Louis from Italy. The emperor and the King of England were invited to join this anomalous alliance; the former with but a vague expectation of obtaining his consent, the latter with strong hope of that active co-operation which he soon afterward afforded.

Towards the close of the following January, the Spanish and pupal troops invested Bologna, but it was relieved before the Venetians could effect a junction with them. The French were now commanded by Gaston de Foix, Duc de Nemours and nephew of their king; a prince who had already, at twenty-two years of age, exhibited a splendour of military talent rarely equalled by the most veteran warriors. Having first checked a menaced descent of the Swiss who had quarrelled with Louis on account of scantiness of pay, and having afterward driven the confederates from Bologna, Gaston continued his march on Brescia; which, partly through the assistance of one of its nobles, disgusted with the French authorities by whom he conceived himself injured in the decision of a private feud, partly through the unwearied activity of Grritti, had been recovered by Venice. Few stations were more important than that city to each party; by the French it was considered, after Milan, their strongest hold in Lombardy; to the Venetians it was known by the endearing name of “the little daughter of St. Mark.”* To

il estoit croqué.—Hist. du Ch. Bayard, xliii. The expressive humour of the last word is untranslatable. Notwithstanding his admiration of the pope's spirit,—qui sent d'homme de bon esprit,—the writer tells us that the holy father shook with fear during the whole remainder of that extraordinary day.

* Hist. du Ch. Bayard, xlviii.

both therefore it was an object well deserving contention ; but although four hundred men-at-arms and four thousand foot under Paolo Baglione were despatched with all expedition by the signory, to reinforce the garrison, and to reduce the citadel, which still maintained itself, the speed of Gaston anticipated their march. So rapid was his advance, even during mid-winter, that he traversed nearly fifty leagues in five days, and "left behind him more country than a courier could ride over in the same time mounted on a cropped horse worth one hundred crowns."* His van under Bayard, having surprised Baglione, was sufficient to overthrow him with the loss of all his infantry and artillery ; and the assault of Brescia, which immediately followed, was among the most illustrious portions of the stainless knight's career.

The singular distribution of Brescia has already been explained in our account of a former siege,† and from that description it may readily be understood in what manner Gaston was able to establish himself with his comrades in the citadel, while the town was in the possession of the Venetians. His force amounted to twelve thousand men, the flower of the French chivalry ; to oppose which, Gritti marshalled eight thousand soldiers and about fourteen thousand irregularly-armed peasants and burghers. Anxious to preserve this fair city from pillage, the Duc de Nemours summoned Gritti to surrender, with a menace that if he resisted not a life should be spared : but the answer was a mortal defiance ; and Gaston therefore prepared for instant storm, consigning to Bayard, at his special request, that which in modern warfare would be called the forlorn hope. "On, gentlemen !" were the parting words of the duke ; "you have no more to do but to show yourselves gallant companions ; on, in the name of God and of St. Denis !" At the word, drums, trumpets, and clarions sounded the assault and alarum so impetuously, that the hair of cowards stood on end, and the hearts of the brave waxed greater within them. The first cannon-shot discharged by the Venetians plunged into the midst of the

* *Hist. du Ch. Bayard*, xlix.

† Vol. ii. p. 22. Our following account of the storm of Brescia is principally taken from *Hi t. du Chev. Bayard*, l.

troop by which Gaston himself was surrounded; and a marvellous thing indeed was it that no one was hurt, so serried were their ranks; and the hacquebuteers meantime from behind the first rampart plied their bullets thickly as flies. The descent from the eminence on which the citadel stood had been rendered slippery by a gentle rain; Gaston, therefore, resolving not to be among the last, in order that he might walk more surely and rapidly, pulled off his shoes, and many others followed his example. Meantime, at the foot of the rampart, at which the chevalier had arrived, so hot was the combat, and so vehement were the shouts "Bayard, Bayard! France, France! Marco, Marco!" that the musketeers could not be heard. Gritti loudly animated his men, assuring them that the French would soon be tired, and that if Bayard were once driven back, not another would dare approach. Greatly however was he deceived! Bayard sprang first upon the breastwork and a thousand more followed him; but as he pressed forward upon the retreating Venetians, he was struck in the thigh by a pike so deeply that the shaft broke, and a part of it, together with the iron head, remained in the wound. Urging on his fellow-soldiers, but himself unable to accompany them, he was carried from the spot by two archers, who stanchd the blood, now flowing copiously, with linen torn from their own persons. His fall roused his comrades to fury, and they burst into the streets, where the fight continued murderously; the French suffering more from the stones, tiles, and boiling water showered down from the windows, chiefly by women, than from the soldiery with whom they were engaged hand to hand. At length, with comparatively small loss to the assailants, seven thousand of their enemies were left dead; and Gritti, perceiving that the city was lost, endeavoured to escape, spurred his horse from street to street, found every issue obstructed, threw himself into a house, and with the help of a single attendant, barricaded and defended it till he secured quarter. Never was a storm more cruelly pursued; twenty thousand souls perished while the pillage continued, and the booty was estimated at three millions of crowns. The capture of Brescia, says the chronicler whom we are following, was the ruin of the French in Italy, for its plunder so enriched the troops, that

many disbanded and quitted the war, who might have done good service afterward, as you shall hear, at Ravenna.*

Bayard, meantime, was placed upon a door torn from its hinges, and carried to the best looking house at hand. Its owner was a rich gentleman, who had sought asylum in a neighbouring monastery; and his lady and two daughters, young maidens of extraordinary beauty, had concealed themselves beneath some straw in a granary, "under the protection of our Lord." The mother, when she heard the knocking at the wicket, opened it, "as awaiting the mercy of God with constancy;" and Bayard, notwithstanding his own great pain, observing her piteous agony, incontinently placed sentinels at the gate, and ordered them to prohibit all entrance, well knowing that his name was a watchword of defence. He then assured the noble dame of protection, inquired into her condition, and despatching some archers for her husband's relief, received him courteously, and entreated him to believe that he lodged none other than a friend. His wound confined him for five weeks, nor was it closed when he remounted his horse and rejoined his comrades. Before his departure, the lady of the house—still considering herself and her family as prisoners, and her mansion and whole property as the lawful prize of her guest, yet perceiving his gentleness of demeanour,—thought to prevail upon him to compound for a moderate ransom; and having placed two thousand five hundred ducats in a casket, she besought his acceptance of it on her knees. Bayard raised her at the moment, seated her beside himself, and inquired the sum. He then assured her that if she had presented him with one hundred thousand crowns they would not gratify him so much as the good cheer which he had tasted under her roof; and he requested permission to bid adieu to her daughters. "The damsels," says the chronicler, "were fair, virtuous, and well-trained, and had afforded much pastime to the chevalier during his illness by their choice singing, playing on the lute and

* Guicciardini winds up his narrative of the miseries which Brescia endured in this assault, with very remarkable simplicity. "Essendo in preda le cose sagre e le profane, nè meno la vita e l'onore delle persone che la robba stette sette giorni continui esposta all'avarizia, alla libidine, e alla crudeltà militare: fu celebrato per queste cose per tutta la Christianità con somma gloria il nome di Fois.—Lib. x. vol. ii. p. 446.

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spinnet, and their much cunning needlework." When they entered the chamber, they thanked him with deep gratitude as the guardian of their honour; and the good knight, almost weeping at their gentleness and humility, answered, "Fair maidens, you are doing that which it is rather my part to do, to thank you for the good company which you have afforded me, and for which I am greatly bound and obliged to you. You know that we knight-adventurers are ill provided with goodly toys for ladies' eyes, and for my part I am sorely grieved not to be better furnished, in order that I might offer you some love-token, as is your due. But your lady mother here has given me two thousand five hundred ducats, which lie on that table, and I present each of you with one thousand in aid of your marriage portions; for my recompense I ask no more than that you will be pleased to pray God for my welfare." Then, turning to the lady of the house, he continued: "These remaining five hundred ducats I take, madam, to my own use; and I request you to distribute them among the poor nuns who have been pillaged, and with whose necessities no one can be better acquainted than yourself: and herewith I take my leave." After having dined, as he quitted his chamber to take horse, the two fair damsels met him, each bearing a little offering which she had worked during his confinement; one consisted of two rich bracelets woven with marvellous delicacy from her own beauteous hair and fine gold and silver threads; the other was a crimson satin purse embroidered with much subtlety. Greatly did the brave knight thank them for this last courtesy, saying that such presents from so lovely hands were worth ten thousand crowns; then gallantly fastening the bracelets on his arm and the purse on his sleeve, he vowed to wear them both, for the honour of their fair donors, while his life endured; and so he mounted and rode on.*

Bayard pursued his course to Ravenna, where he arrived just in time to partake in that dazzling triumph under its walls, the source of so much glory and so passionate grief to the French. In the early part of this campaign a celebrated astrologer at Carpi had predicted that on the ensuing Easter Sunday a great battle should be fought, in which Gaston de Foix should die in

* *Hist. du Ch. Bayard*, li.

the arms of victory ; and he had entreated De la Palisse and Bayard, as the sole hope of their prince's escape from the peril menaced by the stars, not to lose sight of him while on the field.* The event corresponded with the prediction ; a battle was fought on the day specified by the seer, and Bayard, during the heat of action, seems to have obeyed his injunction ; but when the allies were routed and flying in confusion, he urged the duke to collect his men-at-arms and restrain them for a short season from plunder, while himself joined in the pursuit ; at the same time requiring a promise that, until he returned, Gaston would not advance from the spot on which he then stood. This short absence, however, proved fatal ! for the gallant prince, unable to resist a favourable opportunity of charging some Spanish infantry which still remained unbroken, threw himself at the head of his men-at-arms ; became entangled on a causeway between a canal and a deep ravine ; fought on foot, after his horse had been hamstrung ; and fell by unknown and probably obscure hands, mangled with fifteen wounds, all in front and chiefly in the face.† Bayard did not learn this great calamity till after he had permitted the escape of the Spaniards by whom Gaston had been slain. He encountered them while he was returning to the post on which he had left the duke, received their submission and the surrender of their standards, and abhorring needless slaughter in cold blood, granted quarter, and permitted them to continue their retreat.

The Venetian contingent had not been present on this day so fatal to their allies ; and notwithstanding the consternation which the defeat at Ravenna had first excited in Rome, it soon became evident that the conquerors had suffered far too deeply to profit by their most brilliant but fallacious success. The flower of their troops as well as of their captains had perished on that hard-fought field ; and La Palisse, upon whom the command devolved, found himself at the head of a force greatly weakened in numbers, and among whom discipline had been almost wholly destroyed by the richness of their booty, both in the late victory and at Brescia. To increase his embarrassments, the pope temporized with artful and perfidious negotiations.

* *Hist. du Chev. Bayard*, xlvii.

† *Id.* liv.

Henry VIII. openly acceded to the holy league; the defeated confederates reassembled in Romagna; and Maximilian not only prolonged his truce with the signory, but gave permission to twenty thousand Swiss to traverse his dominions, pour down from the mountains of the Tyrol, and effect their junction with a force of ten thousand Venetians now organized in Lombardy. The faithlessness of the emperor, indeed, became more plainly visible every hour; discontent and disunion were rife in the French army; more than once, in some skirmishes while retiring on the Mincio, nothing but the almost incredible prowess of Bayard saved it from destruction; and of this last support it was deprived, when his arm was shattered by a bullet under the walls of Pavia. Harassed by these complicated difficulties, La Palisse continued his painful retreat; and the army which had triumphed so memorably at Ravenna on the 11th of April, began to reascend the Alps on the 28th of June, broken, exhausted, and dispirited. Its departure was a signal for the almost general emancipation of Northern Italy. Genoa revolted; Asti acknowledged her former rulers; Milan was reoccupied by the allies, and its inhabitants, exasperated by the oppression under which they had recently groaned, revenged themselves by a savage massacre of one thousand five hundred defenceless French, left within their walls either from infirmity or inclination. A few scattered castles, little capable of resisting the approaches either of force or famine, were all that remained to Louis of his rapid and extensive conquests in Italy.

But the following year gave birth to new interests and new coalitions, and in surveying the labyrinth of inconsistency and intrigue which the history of Europe presents at that season, the writer must think himself fortunate whose task confines him to the single state of Venice. Julius II., although on the verge of the tomb, still continued to cherish with undiminished fervour his favourite design of expelling the barbarians from Italy,*

* An expression which was continually on his lips. The last chapter of the *Principes* of Machiavelli is wholly directed to that great patriotic object, so dear to every Italian heart.—*Esortazione a liberare Italia dei Barbari*. Would that their miserable, petty, internal dissensions had ever permitted them to effect a general union for the purpose!

*Qual odio, qual furor, qual ira immane,
Quali planete maligni,
Man vostre voglie unite her ai divisi?*

and his general views of aggrandizing the holy see. One, therefore, of his earliest measures was to place the sway of Milan in the hands of a governor dependent upon himself, and irreconcilably hostile to France; both of which requisites were found united in the person of Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of the deposed Lodovico; a youth of weak capacity, who, during his father's imprisonment, had found refuge in Germany. It was on the announcement of that disposition of the throne of Milan that Louis XII. is said to have released Lodovico from his dungeon at Loches, with the intention of turning him loose on his former dominions for the sole purpose of creating embroilment; but authorities are at variance on this point, and by many writers the death of the unhappy prince is placed several years earlier.* Matthieu Schiner, the cardinal of Sion in the Valais, an ambitious and turbulent prelate, who possessed unbounded influence over his countrymen, and accompanied their armies to the field, "that good prophet," as Bayard's chronicler styles him, "who always hated the French," was intrusted with the escort and inauguration of the young Sforza; and the first disgraceful act of that bigoted priest upon his entrance into Milan Dec. 15, 1512. was the exhumation of the remains of Gaston de Foix, which had been interred in the *Duomo*, and their transfer, as excommunicated, to less holy ground in the nunnery of Sta. Martha. When the French reoccupied Milan three years afterward, they raised a splendid monument to their prince in that nunnery; the tomb itself has been destroyed, but a noble statue of Gaston which formed part of it, well betokening his lofty character, long remained, and perhaps still remains, built into the wall of an obscure court adjoining Sta. Martha.

In the distribution of the reconquered territories in Lombardy, little attention had been paid to the just claims of Venice, whose humiliation formed another part of the policy of Julius. The sole places which she regained were Bergamo, won by surprise, and Crema, for whose surrender she bribed the French commander. Upon complaint to Maximilian, the signory were haughtily informed that it was but a small portion of *Terra Firma* upon which they might

* Vol. ii. p. 133.

hope to re-enter ; and that whatever territory might be granted must be held as a fief of the empire ; for investiture with which they must consent to pay two hundred thousand florins immediately, and a perpetual annual tribute of thirty thousand more. At that price, it was added, the existing truce should be extended into peace. Indignant at those inequitable and ignominious terms, the senate appealed to the Vatican ; but Julius felt little hope of compassing his ulterior designs without the co-operation of the emperor, and forgetting therefore all gratitude for the past, in an anxious looking to the future, he abandoned that power which, when he provoked the hostility of France, had been his earliest ally ; and promised Maximilian that if the signory persisted in refusing his proposals, he would treat them as his own enemies.

To the republic, thus oppressed by the emperor and deserted by the pope, an accommodation with France appeared the surest safeguard ; and, on the other hand, the acquisition of such an ally as Venice was important to Louis, now harassed by England, Spain, and Swisserland, all in arms at once on different quarters of his dominions. Andréa Gritti, who had remained prisoner since his capture at Brescia, afforded a channel for negotiation ; and a treaty was rapidly concluded at Blois, by which the French king engaged to despatch a powerful force to unite with the Venetian army, and both parties pledged themselves to continue in arms till each had recovered its ancient possessions ; the adjustment of the precise boundaries of which was reserved for subsequent discussion.

Before that alliance was signed, Julius II. had closed his unpontifical career ; and he was succeeded by the Cardinal de' Medici, who, present as legate of the church at the battle of Ravenna, had been taken prisoner there ; and now, on the first anniversary of that engagement, assumed the triple crown, under the title of Leo X. No change, however, being produced at the moment in the policy of the Vatican, the French retraced their now familiar path across the Alps, under La Tremouille and Trivulzio, captains trained and nurtured in the former Italian wars ; while D'Alviano was released from the confinement in which he had been detained since his defeat at Agnadello, in order to

resume the command of the Venetians. Milan soon fell an easy conquest, and Maximilian Sforza, chased from his short-lived sovereignty, took refuge in the Swiss camp at Navarra; the spot at which, thirteen years before, his father had been betrayed by the same allies to the French, under the same generals who now commanded them. More faithful to their present engagements with the Milanese prince, or rather animated by deeper hostility against Louis, the Swiss now ennobled Navarra by a brilliant action, terminating in the entire overthrow of the invaders,* June 6. who hastily regained the Alps, and abandoned D'Alviano, then encamped near Cremona. Compelled to a speedy retreat, he threw himself into Padua, while Baglione undertook the defence of Treviso, the two sole outposts now retained by Venice. Padua successfully defended itself during a brisk investment of eighteen days by the confederates; and their commander, Don Raymondode Cardona, viceroy of Naples, irritated by his failure, and embarrassed both for money and supplies, revenged himself by an extensive and merciless ravage of the surrounding country. The rich villas and palaces of the Venetian nobles on the Brenta and the Bacchiglione, and the towns of Mestre, Fusina, and Marghéra, on the borders of the *Lagune*, were given to the flames; and, in imitation of the former similar bravado of Louis XII.,† a battery of ten guns, of large caliber, was advanced as near the capital as circumstances permitted. While the citizens beheld from their spires and bell-towers the conflagration of the neighbouring villages, in which, in many instances, they could discover the fall

* Paulus Jovius recounts, that on the evening before the battle of Navarra, all the dogs which followed the French army deserted, *magna continentique agmine*, to the Swiss; and by wagging their tails, drooping their ears, and licking the feet of the sentinels, testified subjection to their new masters. This occurrence was formally notified to Maximilian Sforza as a certain omen of approaching victory, observed on former occasions (xi. p. 169). However credulous an Italian bishop might be in the sixteenth century, there are few marvels (true or false) upon which a philosophical French abbé of the eighteenth would not seek to *rationalize*; and Dubos, accordingly, tells us that the reason for the desertion by the dogs was, in truth, no other than that having gone out in search of food in the morning, and not finding their old masters on their posts when they returned, they very naturally went over to Navarra in search of others.—Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, lib. iv.

† Vol. ii. p. 147.

of their own private roofs, they were afflicted with a yet deeper sense of ignominy when the cannonade reached the monastery of San Secondo, situated but a few hundred paces in advance of Venice itself.*

Nor did their reverses terminate here. D'Alviano, impatient of the devastation around him, earnestly entreated permission to issue from Padua and to take the field. But his troops shared little in the determined courage of their general; and when, after many days' manœuvring, he Oct. 7. brought the Spaniards, laden with booty and exhausted by fatigue, to action at Motta, near Vicenza, the Venetians gave way almost at the first onset, leaving four thousand dead on the field. D'Alviano himself escaped to Treviso; Baglione was taken prisoner; of the *provveditori*, Loredano was slain by some Spaniards disputing for him as their prize; and Gritti, pursued to the very ramparts of Vicenza, found its gates closed by the garrison, and but for a rope thrown by a sentinel from its battlements, must have paid the forfeit of liberty, or, perhaps, even of life.

A great domestic calamity succeeded these military disasters. Some shops adjoining the Rialto having caught Jan. 10. fire, the flames were carried by a high north wind 1514. into the most populous and commercial quarter of the city; where not less than two thousand houses, together with their entire contents, were destroyed; and the loss of this single night was estimated as equal to the cost of a whole campaign. By a singular chance, while all the surrounding buildings were consumed, the church of San Giacomo, the earliest memorial of the original fugitives from Aquileia, and of which the foundations were traced to the commencement of the fifth century,† escaped with

* Guicciardini, lib. xi. vol. iii. p. 90.

† Vol. I. p. 19. This fire, and the escape of the church, are described by Paulus Jovius, xii. 204, and by P. Justiniani, xii. 319. The latter is unusually animated. "Memini adolescens ad locum incendii spectandi gratiâ accessisse, tum miserabilem cladem, expavescentemque incensarum ædium ruinam intuitus, ingentem animo mœrorem concepi; jacebant prostratæ voraci flammæ speciosæ ædium structuræ, molesque disjectæ deformem latè loci faciem reddebant, fumusque ac favillæ ex ruderum cunulis in summum volebantur; hine ruinas, illinc semidirutæ videbam ædificia, ardentes alio loco trabes, alio columnas, fornices, arcus collapsos, ac cineribus ignique omnia involuta, in ipsis autem flammis gemmæ, aurum, argentum, ebur, aliæque præciosa ornamenta interfulgebant.

slight damage, and afforded to the willing belief of the populace a fresh pledge of the immortality of their city. Undismayed by this new misfortune, the signory continued their exertions, enrolled the workmen of the arsenal as a garrison for Padua, and by largely recruiting D'Alviano, gave him opportunity of renewing a straggling war of partisanship, and of winning many not unimportant advantages, even in the face of his victorious enemy.

It was at this period that Bembo, himself a Venetian, was deputed by Leo X., in whose service he was engaged as secretary, to endeavour to wean his countrymen from their alliance with France, and to induce them to propitiate the emperor by an abandonment of their claim upon Verona, now the chief subsisting cause of hostility. The *proposita* which the ambassador addressed to the signory on that occasion is still extant among his works,* and affords a remarkable specimen of the cumbrous diplomacy of the sixteenth century; especially in those arguments which he derives from the recent marriage of Louis XII., now past the meridian of life, with the young and lovely Mary of England, sister to Henry VIII., the most beautiful woman of her time. But the assertion of Bembo, that the French monarch would forget all warlike cares in the arms of his attractive bride, and his prediction that his days would be abridged also by that ill-assorted match, failed to shake the fidelity of the signory. They broke off the Jan. 1. 1515. negotiation, and despatched an embassy to congratulate Louis on his nuptials, which was met, while on its route, by the tidings of his decease.

His successor, Francis I., received the Venetian envoys with distinction, renewed the treaty of Blois, assumed the title of Duke of Milan, and engaged to appear in arms on the banks of the Adda before the close of four months. In the early part of the expedition undertaken in fulfilment of this promise, the Venetians were principally occupied in observing a Spanish force between the Mincio and the Adige, in order to prevent its junction with the Swiss, who, retiring from the defiles of the Alps before the advance of the French, had occupied Milan. No sooner, however, had Francis arrived and encamped at Marignano, than D'Alvi-

* Opera, iii. 478.

and broke up from his more distant quarters, and by a march of unexampled rapidity, pressed forward to Lodi. It was on the afternoon of the 13th of September that the Venetian general, with three or four attendants, rode to the French camp, in order to salute the king, and to consult with him respecting the plan of the campaign; and while engaged in familiar conversation in the royal tent, where Francis was trying on a new suit of armour, the Seigneur de Fleuranges burst in with breathless haste, and announced that the Swiss were unexpectedly advancing. "Signor Bartolomeo," said the king, turning to D'Alviano, "you see how we are circumstanced; I pray you lose no time;" and at the words the general sprang upon his horse, and galloped back to Lodi, to put his troops in immediate motion. Meantime the battle commenced; and the Swiss, frustrated in their first hope of surprise, rushed on the French artillery, in spite of its terrific fire, and, in many instances, captured the guns. Francis himself, with all the ardour of youth, plunged into the thickest of the fight; owed his life, more than once, to the good temper of his armour; cut down several of the enemy with his own hand; and when midnight separated the combatants, and the gigantic horns of Uri and Unterwald recalled the Swiss to their quarters, snatched a brief repose on the carriage of a gun, and passed the remaining hours of darkness on horseback, making dispositions for the morrow. At daybreak the engagement was renewed with more than former fury, and its fortune was still doubtful, and perhaps inclining against the French, when, about nine o'clock, the seasonable appearance of D'Alviano decided in their favour. He had ridden all night, and gathering two hundred picked horsemen, and ordering the rest of his army to follow with the utmost speed, he returned to the field at the very moment at which he was most needed. Instantly charging, although not without considerable loss, he checked a successful column of Swiss, and impressed their comrades with a belief that the entire Venetian army had arrived. Despairing, therefore, of victory, they retired upon their quarters, slowly, in good order, still breathing fierceness, and defying pursuit. The movement was effected with little other loss than that of some stragglers, who were destroyed by D'Alviano in the flames of a village which they endeavoured to defend. The carnage

of the two days' fight was horrible ; twelve thousand Swiss, and about four thousand French, many of noble blood, remained on the field ; and the veteran Trivulzio, who had been present in no less than eighteen pitched battles, spoke of all his former engagements as children's sport compared with this, and named it "The Combat of the Giants."*

The battle of Marignano brought the glories of Bayard to their height. In one of the closing charges on the first evening, the brave knight, having already had one horse killed under him, was entangled among the pikes of the enemy, and lost his bridle. His charger, thus freed, became unmanageable ; and although he dashed through the surrounding hosts and disengaged his master, he continued to rush blindly on in the direction of another corps of Swiss. The clusters hanging from tree to tree in an intervening vineyard fortunately checked his speed, and enabled Bayard to dismount at a moment in which he considered himself utterly lost. Then disencumbering himself of his greaves and helmet, he crept on all-fours along the course of a ditch, which carried him past the Swiss detachment, to a point from which he heard shouts of "France, France !" Great was his joy when the first man whom he encountered was the Duke of Lorraine ; who, astonished to see so gallant a knight on foot, mounted him on a fresh horse, to which is attached a history partaking of the romance which belongs so largely to his master. That good steed *Carman* was taken at Brescia ; presented by the Duke of Lorraine to Bayard ; and ridden by him at Ravenna, till two thrusts from a pike in its body, and more than twenty sabre cuts on its head, obliged him to abandon his favourite as mortally wounded. On the morning after the battle, however, the generous animal was found grazing, recognised his master by an affectionate neigh, and was conveyed to his quarters, where his wounds were carefully tended till he recovered. Marvellous was it to behold how patiently he submitted without a start or movement to the searching hands which dressed his gashes ; yet if a naked sword glittered near him, his eyes flashed with fury, and seizing the blade he wrung it vengefully with his teeth. Never yet did you see a more gallant steed ; he was, in truth, what *Bucephalus* was to *Alexander* !

* Guicciardini, lib. xii. vol. iii. p. 167.

The chevalier, well satisfied to be thus remounted on his favourite horse, showed the same joyous humour, traits of which we have more than once before noticed; and by a playful stratagem replaced the helmet which he had thrown away. Turning to a gentleman of his acquaintance who was standing by, he expressed fear of catching cold if he continued bareheaded after the violent heat occasioned by his long exertions on foot. "Prithee, then," he said, "lend me for an hour or two that helmet which I see your page has in his hands." The helmet was readily lent, but it was not returned to its owner till the close of the next day's battle, after it had seen hard service.* It was also on the field of this great victory that Francis I. demanded knighthood from Bayard, who would fain have excused himself; replying that he who was king of so great a kingdom was already knight of all orders of knighthood. "Cite me no canons," answered Francis, with a poor jest, which has been thought worth preserving, "be they of steel, brass, or iron! Do my will and commandment, if you mean to be esteemed among the number of my good servants and subjects." Thus pressed, Bayard drew his sword and addressed the king, "Sire, may you be valiant as Roland, Oliver, Godfrey, or Baldwin! Certes you are the first king who ever yet was dubbed knight. God grant that you may never be put to flight in battle!" and then, holding his sword on high, after giving the *accolade*, he cried aloud, "Happy art thou, my good sword, this day to have knighted so virtuous and powerful a king! Certes, henceforward thou shalt be regarded as a relic, and honoured above all things; never again will I unsheath thee save against Turks, Saracens, and Moors!" and then, making two leaps, he returned it to the scabbard.†

This bloody victory was not, like that of Ravenna, barren of results. The Swiss having retired to their mountains, and the Spaniards to cover Naples, Milan once more surrendered; and Maximilian Sforza, who had sought shelter within its citadel, abandoned its defence, and accepted a pension, and a retreat in France, with a promise of the king's influence to obtain him a cardinal's hat; happy in disembarassing himself from a contest which nature had

* Hist. du Chev. Bayard, ix.

† Champier, Hist. du Chev. Bayard.

in qualified him to support. The pope, hastening to negotiate, concluded peace, first with Venice, by conceding her right to Brescia altogether, and to Verona so far as himself was concerned; and then with France, by permitting the reannexation of Parma and Piacenza, which had been severed from the duchy of Milan. Francis, having agreed to these conditions, and adjusted also a treaty with Switzerland, known in history as *La Paix perpétuelle*, which continued the basis of all subsequent relations between the two countries till the revolution of 1789, disbanded the greater part of his army, and returned home. But the field was still kept by the Venetians, for although Brescia had been ceded by the pope, it was garrisoned by his confederates. While the indefatigable D'Alviano was preparing to reduce it, a severe and painful disorder, produced by his great exertions at Marignano, terminated his life in Oct. 7. his 61st year. Venice was grateful for his splendid services and virtues, and decreed the honours of a public funeral in the capital. His corpse remained in the camp twenty-three days, during the whole of which time his soldiers mounted guard at the tent in which it reposed, and paid it the honour due to a living general; and then, strongly impressed with the feeling that he who while alive never shrank from the face of his enemies ought not to avoid confronting them even when dead, they refused to demand safe-conduct from the Austrians; and fearlessly escorted the remains of their beloved leader, through the middle of the hostile posts, to the borders of the *Lagune*. The funeral oration was spoken by Navagiero, and a superb monument to D'Alviano's memory was erected in the church of San Stefano.

In the following spring, Maximilian, bent upon one great effort for his re-establishment in Italy, poured down unexpectedly upon the Lombard plains with nearly 40,000 men. His vast superiority over the small French and Venetian force must have ensured the immediate fall of Milan, but for a dilatory and irresolute spirit, which not only permitted the union of widely-scattered detachments, but even left time for the arrival of ten thousand Swiss auxiliaries. Without having received a single check, and leading an army still double in number to that opposed to him, so deeply did Maximilian distrust the fidelity of his own Swiss when arrayed against their coun-

trymen, so fearfully was he impressed with the remembrance of their treachery under similar circumstances to Lodovico Sforza, that when a short march would have placed Milan in his possession, he suddenly fell back almost with the rapidity of flight, secured his own person in Trent, and left his troops so ill paid, and ill provided, that they, for the most part, broke up and dispersed. His retreat was most advantageous to the Venetians; Bergamo and many of the lesser towns opened their gates, Brescia capitulated after a short resistance, and Verona might soon have followed but for the languid co-operation of the French. The mystery of their reluctance was soon explained by the announcement of a negotiation between Francis I. and Charles V., to whom the crown of Spain had recently devolved by the death of Ferdinand; and who, eager to pass from his dominions in the Netherlands to secure those in Castile, spared no pains to strengthen amicable relations with France. By a treaty signed at Noyon on the 13th of August, after provisions affecting the chief contracting parties, arrangements were made for the pacification of Italy, without which Francis saw little hope of establishment in the Milanese, and Charles despaired of extricating his Neapolitan territories from the rival claims which were extended over them. The King of France acted for Venice; and the King of Spain declared, that unless his grandfather Maximilian should assent within two months to the terms, he would cease to assist him with either men or money. Verona, by this treaty, was to be restored to Venice; but in order to save the emperor's honour it was to be surrendered first to Charles, to be transferred by him after six weeks' occupation to Francis, and not to be delivered to its ultimate master till after the payment of one hundred thousand ducats. Maximilian at first expressed anger and astonishment at this unheard-of dictation by an almost beardless youth; and indignantly applied to England for assistance; offering to Henry VIII. as the price of his friendship, if he would defray the charge of such an expedition, to open a passage to Rome at the head of fifty thousand men, there to celebrate his own coronation, and to declare his ally King of the Romans, and his successor. Henry, undeluded by these magnificent but empty promises, coldly declined; replying that he was contented with his hereditary dominions; and Maximilian, perceiving his ina-

bility to resist single-handed, accepted the terms, and ratified a long truce with Venice.

Thus, after eight years' uninterrupted struggle, in the course of which at one time all ~~had been~~ lost except her insular dominions, Venice emerged from her mighty dangers; shorn, indeed, of some of her more recent conquests, but still outwardly powerful and largely increased in glory. Her firmness and her prudence had saved her while tottering almost on the verge of ruin, and never did she exhibit herself in a prouder attitude than that which she calmly maintained under the heaviest pressure of her late complicated disasters. Over these she had at length triumphed; her immediate losses were Cremona, the borders of the Adda, and Romagna; her future dangers arose from the neighbourhood of powers superior to herself, and from the burden of a national debt, incurred for the support of the past exhausting war, and amounting to five millions of ducats, a sum nearly equalling eight millions sterling of our present money.



King of France.

King of Spain.

FROM TITIAN.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM A. D. 1516 TO A. D. 1573.

Necessity for a temporizing Policy—Wars of Charles V. and Francis I.—Peace of Cambrai—Turkish War—Remarkable Exertion of Power by the Ten in procuring Peace—Treachery of the Venetian Secretaries—Thirty Years' Peace—Progress of the Arts—Titian—Ambition of Selim II.—Fire in the Arsenal at Venice—Selim declares War—Descent upon Cyprus—Siege and Capture of Nicosia—Of Famagosta, and entire Conquest of Cyprus—Fate of Bragadino—Triple Alliance between the Pope, Spain, and Venice—The Ottoman Fleet in the Adriatic—Don John of Austria commands the Allies—Battle of Lepanto—Inactivity of the Confederates—Peace between Turkey and Venice.

DOGES.

A. D.

LEONARDO LOREDANO.

1521. LXXVIII. ANTONIO GRIMANI.

1524. LXXIX. ANDREA GRITTI.

1538. LXXX. PIETRO LANDO.

1545. LXXXI. FRANCESCO DONATO.

1553. LXXXII. MARC' ANTONIO TREVISANI.

1554. LXXXIII. FRANCESCO VENIERO.

1556. LXXXIV. LORENZO PRIULI.

1559. LXXXV. GERONIMO PRIULI.

1567. LXXXVI. PIETRO LOREDANO.

1570. LXXXVII. LUIGI MÖNCENIGO.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fair outward appearances of undiminished strength which Venice for the most part preserved after the ratification of the treaty of Noyon, manifest signs of incipient decay must have presented themselves to such eyes as had the privilege of closely searching her internal polity. During the late wars, her exhausted treasury had been replenished for the moment by means degrading to her hereditary nobles; and wealth had been made a sure channel to many public employments hitherto the exclusive privilege of patrician birth and fitting education. Municipal governments and judicial offices, by be-

coming marketable, had in countless instances been prostituted to unworthy hands ; and it was necessary, therefore, that at least one generation should pass away before the state could regain, if indeed it ever attained the power of regaining, the solidity of its original constitution. In her finances, also, it was no longer by commerce, the staple of the republic from her cradle, that Venice could hope to recover her impaired vigour. The partition-wall of her monopoly had been broken down : the recent discovery of the New World by the great Genoese adventurer, and the new track to the market of the Old World, opened by his not less distinguished Portuguese rival, having transferred in great part to Cadiz and to the Tagus that traffic which had before centred in the *Lagune*. The fury of war had destroyed the manufactories of Venice on *Terra Firma* ; these however might be re-established during peace ; but her salt-works, in which, from her very birth, she had refused all partnership, and defied all competition, were now shared by compulsion with the holy see. Her argosies might still penetrate to the innermost shores of the Mediterranean and of the Euxine ; but Cairo and Alexandria, the emporiums of her carrier-trade, had been won by the Turkish sultan ; who thus intercepted half her profits by his demand of toll and custom : and the treasures and spices of the East, instead of slowly traversing a vast intermediate continent, and encountering the perilous navigation of the Red Sea, now found a surer, quicker, and more regulated course round that cape which, divested of its fearful name " of Storms," more justly augured " Good Hope" to those by whose persevering enterprise it had first been doubled.

The senate, however, was zealous in providing such remedies for the national distress as they still retained power to administer. They dedicated themselves steadily to the revival of agriculture in their wasted provinces ; they recalled the scattered artisans whom war had chased from their looms and furnaces ; they profited by their recent hard lessons of self-defence, which taught how much the safety of their capital depended upon that of her outworks, Padua and Verona ; and no labour was spared to render those fortifications impregnable ; and, with an equally sagacious regard to more peaceful objects, they again organized in the former of those cities its far-famed university, whose studies

had been suspended during the last eight calamitous years. Wisely indeed did they act in once more inviting its former influx of scholars to be wholesomely disciplined in literature and the arts by "that new Athens, that ornament of the republic, that commodious resort of nations," as it is styled, not unaptly, by Paruta.*

Still it was manifest to her rulers that without repose the very existence of their country was uncertain; that her inward wounds, visible to them alone, but not on that account the less dangerous, stanchcd, but by no means healed, would bleed afresh, and perhaps mortally, if she were exposed to unseasonable agitation; that her sole chance of recovering pristine energy was to be found in a careful husbandry of present resources, and in a watchful and severe avoidance of active warfare. These premises will explain the course trodden by the republic during the ensuing half-century; and will exhibit her apparently vacillating policy as the result of one steady principle, which, if it did not succeed in wholly arresting her decline, at least contributed to render it almost insensible. To preserve neutrality amid the contests raging around was her first and leading object; and whenever the rude collision of two angry neighbours rendered it necessary that she should either side with one or encounter both, her next endeavour was to avoid becoming a principal. Happy for herself as was this subordinate part, it is not equally happy for the narrator of her fortunes; and the dull and level field which now begins to open upon our view strongly contrasts with the rich and varied country through which, for the most part, we have hitherto travelled. But the great events of European story, the long, bloody, and ruinous struggle by which the ambition of Charles V. and Francis I. continued to desolate Italy, the chief theatre of their gladiatorship, have been too often, too fully, and too ably told to need any meager and unsatisfactory abridgment; and we gladly therefore avail ourselves of our privilege, as writers, not of history, but of *sketches from history*, to hasten on to matter less generally familiar.

Charles V. was elected emperor in 1519, and in the very outset of his long rivalry with the King of France, Venice

* Lib. iv. ap. Isterici Ven. p. 237.

declared in favour of his competitor. In two campaigns the French lost the Milanese, which the pope and the emperor had undertaken to conquer for Francesco Maria Sforza, a brother of Maximilian; and by their defeat at Bicocca they were wholly expelled from Lombardy. The consequence of these events was the transfer of the alliance of Venice to the emperor, in spite of the remonstrances of ANDREA GRITTI, whose splendid services were soon afterward rewarded with the ducal bonnet. A. D. 1523. Yet these services were of too elevated a nature to be appreciated by the undistinguishing rabble, who received with murmurs of discontent the proclamation of their new prince; by whose skill, valour, and integrity they had been alike benefited, whether he negotiated while prisoner in a foreign realm or accompanied their armies in many a hard-contested field. Under Gritti's ascendant influence, however, when he became doge, secret relations were contracted anew with Francis, then on his advance to Pavia; and their discovery by Charles, and the issue of the memorable Feb. 25. 1525. battle under the walls of that city, exposed Venice to the probable vengeance of the conqueror. Charles, however, displaying that unexpected moderation which his consummate knowledge of mankind had early taught him was one of the surest secrets of dominion; and which, therefore, he was almost always seen to exercise in his seasons of highest elevation; listened to the excuses of the Venetian envoy with a mien of assent; and not till after his departure informed the bystanders that he believed the justification to be false, but that nevertheless he was willing to admit it.* He then indulged himself in the malicious pleasure of despatching an especial announcement of his great triumph to the anxiously expectant signory; and the envoy arrived at the chamber of audience at the very moment in which the French ambassador was quitting it, after receiving a compliment of condolence on his royal master's defeat and captivity. Congratulation was equally ready on the lips of the doge for the messenger of victory; and he excused this duplicity by an adroit adoption of the words of St. Paul, "We rejoice with those who rejoice, and we weep with those who weep."

* Guicciardini, lib. xvi. vol. iv. p. 23.

Nevertheless it seemed more politic to assume at least an attitude of resistance than to lie, as it were, prostrate before Charles ; and Venice accordingly, having recovered from her first panic, and being secure of assistance from England, Rome, and Florence, became a party with those powers in the treaty of Cognac, which openly allied them with France. One strong motive for the course now pursued by the republic was the usage of Francesco Maria Sforza, who was plainly no more than a stalking-horse set up to cover the advance of the emperor's ambition ; the delay of his investiture with his duchy, and the terms with which it was clogged when ultimately granted, surely proving that Charles one day intended to appropriate the rich country of Milan to himself. The war which followed in consequence of those suspicions was feebly conducted by the allies ; how vigorously, on the other hand, it was pressed by their enemy the fatal sack of Rome by Bourbon is sufficient evidence. Yet, even when the eternal city was ravaged by that traitor's barbarian hordes, and when Clement VII., besieged within the walls of St. Angelo, was paralyzed by terror, and feeding on asses' flesh in the extremity of famine, no serious exertion for his deliverance was made by his Venetian allies. The Duke d'Urbino, to whose command their army was intrusted, and whose slow, cautious, and saturnine disposition well adapted him for the services which his masters required,* did no more than approach within sight of the papal castle, in order to increase the despair of its garrison by again retreating ; and during the succeeding campaign he confined himself for the most part to similar inconclusive demonstrations, carefully avoiding the hazard of a battle.

One incident of this war deserves remembrance. When Henry Duke of Brunswick, in 1528, attempted an ill-supported and unsuccessful diversion in the Veronese, and approached the Venetian frontier, he despatched a cartel to the Doge Gritti who had passed his eightieth year, pro-

* "Confessando tutti havere la repubblica rade volte pir l' adietro havuto al governo della sua militia persona più a proposito per tale servitio."—Paruta, lib. ix. *ad fin.* This is part of the public historian's eulogy on the Duke d'Urbino when recounting his death. He insinuates, nevertheless, that personal motives, and a hatred against the Medici, might render him more than usually tardy in attempting the succour of Clement VII.

voking him to single combat; an idle fashion of bravado which had arisen from those fruitful parents of modern duelling, the challenges forwarded by the Kings of France and England to the emperor.* After ten years' tedious and, so far as Venice was concerned, inglorious hostilities, peace was once more restored to Italy by a treaty signed at Cambrai. The republic, however, was not formally included in that negotiation; and Francis, dishonourably abandoning his ally, declared, that unless she consented to surrender to the emperor the maritime towns of Naples in her occupation, force of arms should compel their cession.† The King of France was represented in the congress by his mother Louise of Savoy; the emperor by the same aunt Margaret who but a few years before had framed on the same spot the memorable league which bore its name; and the peace is consequently known in history as *La Paix des Dames*. When Gritti learned the proposals offered to his acceptance, and recalled to mind the manifold ills to which the city from which they issued had already given birth, he pronounced Cambrai to be the purgatory of Venice: "It is the place," he said, "in which the monarchs of France and Germany compel our republic to expiate the sins of alliance which she has committed with both of them." Fortunately, however, the force of circumstances once again inclined the emperor to moderation. Solyman, the Turkish sultan, although discomfited for awhile, was still in arms, and not long since he had besieged Vienna at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men; the religious troubles in Germany were hourly increasing; and loud murmurs were heard from Spain. It was the policy therefore of Charles at least to temporize; and accordingly he confirmed Sforza in his duchy, and granted peace to Venice; abandoning to her all his conquests in Lombardy, and receiving in return the Neapolitan ports for himself, and Cervia and Ravenna for the pope. This treaty was ratified at Bologna by Charles in person, on the 1st of January, 1530.

* Paruta, vi. p. 498.

† Francis seems to have been heartily ashamed of the dirty part which he acted in this peace, "non essendo al tutto di atto tanto brutto senza vergogna, fuggì per qualche dì con vari subterfugi il conspetto e l'udienza degl' Imbeciatori dei Collegati, ai quali poi finalmente uditi in disparate fece accusazioni."—Giulsiardini, lib. xix. vol. iv. p. 364.

But the flames of war between the two great rival princes were rather smothered than extinguished by the peace of Cambrai; and after the lapse of a very few years a pretext was found for the renewal of their quarrel, A. D. 1535. and for another invasion of Italy by the French. The death of Francesco Maria Sforza, against whom the wrath of Francis was mainly directed, and which is attributed by some authorities to his consequent terror, left Milan without an heir, and aroused all the former claimants. Happily for Italy, the scene of conflict was soon transferred to France itself; and Venice did no more than maintain an armed neutrality to which she was bound by the late treaty, on the occurrence of any foreign irruption. New inquietudes however, soon awaited her from more distant quarters. A secret, and, according to the estimate of those times, a most impious and unnatural league, existed between Solymán and Francis; and the latter, anxious to induce the republic to espouse his interests, urged his infidel ally to terrify her into action. Solymán accordingly equipped a formidable naval force; and although it was doubtful upon what enemy his preparations were directed, and no hostile intention against Venice had been avowed, prudence manifestly suggested the necessity of arming in return. A casual rencounter at the mouth of the Adriatic between the Turkish and Venetian squadrons led to an open rupture; and the Ottomans poured down with relentless fury on Corfu. It was in vain that the senate tendered ample compensation, and even sent in chains to Constantinople those captains to whom Solymán imputed the offence. Corfu was mercilessly ravaged during ten days' occupation, its villages were burned, its fields were laid waste, and fifteen thousand natives were borne away into captivity. Then suddenly and unexpectedly breaking up from his first scene of desolation, the redoubtable Barbarossa, to whom this ministry of vengeance had been intrusted, scoured every island in the Archipelago, either swayed directly by Venice herself, or held in fee from the republic by any of her nobles. "Nevertheless," observes Paruta, "so miserable were the times, that the abandonment of Corfu by the enemy who had ruined it, was esteemed a triumph; not to be utterly destroyed by them was thought a victory.*

* *quos opimus
Fallere et offusere est triumphus*

Thanksgivings for this fortunate event were offered up in Venice ; solemn processions were made through the streets ; masses were celebrated in all the churches ; and alms were copiously distributed to the poor.* No further proofs need be required of consciousness of decline.

Meantime Charles and Francis had been once again reconciled ; and, in the commencement of the following year, the pope and the emperor associated with Venice in an alliance offensive and defensive against the Turks. In the termination of that contest which was languidly conducted, one of the most remarkable anomalies in the Venetian constitution was exhibited in strong light. The ambassador despatched to Constantinople for the public negotiation of peace, the terms of which had, during many months, been privately discussed through the medium of a bastard of the doge well versed in oriental politics, was instructed by the senate to stipulate in the first instance for the restoration of all the Turkish conquests. If he found that proposal inadmissible, he was then permitted to offer a tribute of six thousand ducats for Malvasia and Napoli di Romagna ; and to promise a yet further payment of three hundred thousand more as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. But this was not the sole condition with which the envoy departed. The Ten, without communication with any other branch of the government, secretly authorized him by the fullest powers to conclude peace, if it were not otherwise to be obtained, even by the cession of the two important towns just named ; wisely deeming that the surrender of those distant posts always at the mercy of the enemy, although a large, was not an exorbitant price for the conclusion of a very dangerous war. Badoaro the ambassador insisted strongly with the vizier on his first proposal, and was surprised at the pertinacity of refusal which it encountered. Not even a modification of it was admitted, and peace, it was said, should be granted only on the abandonment of certain fortresses in Dalmatia, of all the islands recently surrendered in the Archipelago, and of Malvasia and Napoli ; besides the payment of the offered indemnity. Hard as were these conditions, Badoaro eventually accepted them ; and Gritti, who expired in his 84th year, a few months before the conclusion of this unequal treaty, was

* Lib. viii. p. 706.

spared the mortification of ratifying it, and of finding one of his latest acts discordant from a whole life of glory.

The announcement of these terms, however desirable was the accommodation itself, excited no small astonishment in Venice, where nothing was as yet known beyond the declared intentions of the senate. National pride was offended at the cessions: the money paid, it was said, might have been far better employed in a vigorous prosecution of war, and the want of skill or of courage in the ambassador was vehemently condemned,—till the Ten openly avowed their own act. On the moment, as by a touch, public opinion changed, the first emotions of disgust subsided, and on deeper consideration and after more correct reasoning, men, we are told, were satisfied, or at least silent; and all concurred in extolling the prudence of these wise counsellors ever watchful over the true interests of the republic.* Nevertheless, even the Ten themselves and the new doge PIETRO LANDO, although from the beginning fully cognizant of the diplomatic mystery, were surprised at the unbending opposition maintained by the Turkish negotiators; and it was not long before the treachery which had guided them was brought to light. Nicolo Cavazza,† a secretary of the Ten, and Maffeo Leone who filled the like office to the senate, had betrayed the secrets of their respective councils to some nobles in the pay of the court of France; by which cabinet in turn they had been revealed to the divan. An intrigue between the wife of one of the traitors and a grave senator accidentally threw some papers developing this foul transaction into the hands of the latter, who immediately denounced the criminals and their agents. Three of them claimed and received asylum in the palace of the French ambassador; but the Ten, undeterred by that high protection, demanded the fugitives, and upon refusal, planted cannon before the gates of the palace, and threatened to batter them down if they were any longer closed against the

* Paruta, lib. x. p. 118.

† On the appointment of this Cavazza, whom Palatius names Constantino, the Doge Gritti prophetically remarked that the Ten, by their selection, had slipped the new secretary's neck into a halter. "*Hec namque decreto laqueum video collo appensum Cavazzam.*"—*Facti Ducales*, p. 200.

officers of justice. The menace produced the desired effect, and the malefactors were surrendered and executed; not without some expression of resentment on the part of Francis, who for many months afterward refused audience to Antonio Veniero, the Venetian ambassador at his court. One day, however, the king, while in his camp at Perpignan, being desirous to learn news from Turkey, sent for the minister; and having complained in gentle terms of the recent violation of diplomatic privileges, he asked what the ambassador would have thought if similar force had been employed against himself? Veniero's reply was prompt and dignified: "God knows, sire, that if I had in my palace and my power any traitors against your majesty, I would myself arrest and deliver them into your majesty's hands; being well assured, that if I acted otherwise I should be most severely reprehended by my master, the signory."

The prudence of the Venetian government secured tranquillity to the republic during the next thirty years; the course of which swept away the chief great actors in the political drama of the times. The death of Francis I. could occasion little regret among those to whom he had proved by turns a vigorous enemy or an inconstant and ungrateful ally; but the loss of Henry VIII. appears to have been deeply lamented. Little interested, on account of the remoteness of his dominions, in the general affairs of Italy, but keenly alive to the mutual advantages of commercial intercourse, that monarch had encouraged an intimate connexion with Venice. To many of her nobles he was personally attached, bestowing upon them his confidence, and employing them in difficult negotiations; and to the state herself he testified the sincerity of his regard in some of her most hazardous crises. Paruta, from whom we derive this information, displays an intimate knowledge of the fickleness which marked the latter years of Henry's tyrannical career, when he adds that "becoming different from himself, he changed his thoughts and inclinations in this particular also, and sometimes showed but little friendliness."*

The season of repose which ensued proved highly favourable to the cultivation of the arts. Palladio and Scamozzi

* Lib. xi. p. 195.

adorned the capital with rich and imposing architecture; the Florentine Sansovino erected the Mint, the Library of St. Mark, and the *Procuratie Nuove*, and sculptured those noble statues of Mars and Neptune, emblems of the military and naval power of Venice,* which still guard the Giant's Stairs. The glory also of the Venetian school of colouring was brought to its height by the pencils of Titian, Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese. To them was intrusted the design and execution of that first brilliant series of historical pictures which encircled the hall of the Great Council; all of which, says the precise and not very fervid Justiniani, those most diligent painters† brought to conclusion.

The reward of Titian was an appointment to the office of *La Senseria* (brokerage) in the *Fondaca de' Tedeschi*‡, the street front of which building had already been painted in fresco by his own hand, as had the water-façade by that of Giorgione. In a truly mercantile spirit, the patent by which this not very lucrative post was held (its salary amounted but to 300 crowns, and its duties must have been not less alien from the pursuits of Titian than those of an exciseman were from the spirit of Burns) bound him to paint every doge who succeeded during his lifetime, for eight crowns a head; to be paid by the doge himself. To this notable agreement we are indebted for portraits of PIETRO LANDE, FRANCESCO DONATO (1545), MARCO ANTONIO TREVISANO (1553), and FRANCESCO VENIERO (1554). On the accession of LORENZO PRIULI in 1556, Titian, then in his 79th year, discontinued his task; nevertheless, he survived twenty years longer, painted many other pictures, and even at last fell a victim, not to any ordinary disorder, but to the plague.

Venice has ever exhibited nice sensibility to the merits of this her most consummate artist. Even in his lifetime,

* *Macrocerus*, *Hist. Ven.* lib. x. *apud* *lat. Venet.* vi. p. 229.

† *Diligentissimi Pictores*. lib. xv. p. 406.

‡ This building, which stood on the *Canale Grande*, near the *Rialto*, was originally the residence of the signory; was afterward granted as a commercial depot to German merchants, whence it takes its name; and is now used as a custom-house. The original mansion was destroyed in the great fire of 1514, and it was on its rebuilding that Giorgione and Titian painted the exterior; and the former, jealous of the praises bestowed upon his pupil, renounced all intercourse with him. The *Dogana di Mare*, another custom-house for transit goods, is from many points one of the most picturesque objects in Venice.

a season at which gratitude is often wanting to desert, when in 1535 the republic was arming against the Turks, and a poll-tax was levied upon her citizens for the replenishment of the treasury, by an edict not less honourable to herself than to the individuals whom it concerned, special exceptions were made in favour of "Titiano Vecelli and Giacopo Sansovino, on account of their rare excellence." When on another occasion the fraternity of *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* had sold a *chef-d'œuvre* of the great painter, "The Martyrdom of St. Peter," for eighteen thousand crowns, the ready arm of the Ten interposed, annulled the bargain on pain of death, and retained the picture in the church which it still adorns.* Yet notwithstanding the just and exalted estimate of the powers of Titian, he still remains without any further monument than that afforded by his own immortal works, and the simple but impressive gravestone in the church de' Frari, *Qui giace il gran Tiziano*.† Canova indeed, after the lapse of more than two centuries, was instructed to prepare a tomb in 1792; but although the beauties which his unrivalled chisel might have struck out at the moment of birth would perhaps have redeemed any original sin of conception, few of his groups are more liable to the charge of poverty and coldness of invention than that which he then designed. The open gate of a sepulchral pyramid is entered by *Painting* veiled in token of grief, and by her side stands an angel, supporting her attributes. Behind, on a lower step, are placed *Sculpture* and *Architecture*, with their emblems less carefully strewed on the ground; and the opposite side of the door is sentinelled by a mourning Lion, allegorical, as it is stated, of the Venetian school! Above the portal, two Genii held a medalion of Titian. The subscription raised for the completion

* At that splendid but meretricious altar in *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, the second on the left, after entering from the great porch.

† We believe this was the original inscription, more striking than even our own similar epitaph, "O rare Ben Jonson." We well remember the impression made by those few pointed words on the late Emperor Alexander, when he visited Westminster Abbey; and the emphasis with which he repeated and explained them (giving full enunciation to the final e,) to his sister the Dutchess of Oldenburgh, who was hanging on his arm. The later Venetians have substituted a jingling distich, which has destroyed all the majesty of the inscription, and it now runs,

"Qui giace Tiziano Vecelli,
Emulo di Zeus e d' Apelle."

of this monument proved insufficient; and the sculptor, unwilling to lose his labour, by a few dexterous alterations converted the model to the use of a deceased Austrian archduchess, Christina, consort of Duke Albert of Saxo-Teschen, in the church of the Augustines at Vienna. The colossal dimensions were reduced; *Painting*, by the removal of her veil and the addition of a cinerary urn in her hands, readily became *Virtue*; *Innocence* and *Piety* supplied the vacant places of *Sculpture* and *Architecture*, and *Charity* follows them, leading an old man, and supporting an orphan; the Lion, adhering with no less pertinacity than if he had been of British breed, remained as the guardian of the tomb; himself guarded by a keeper genius, emblematical, as is said, of *Grief*; and the other twin genii supporting the medallion were transformed into *Felicity* and an angel with a palm branch. Notwithstanding this appropriation to another purpose, the design, since Canova's death, has been chosen to record his own excellence; the original cast of character has been restored, and the monument, almost as at first projected, now covers *some* of the remains of the great sculptor* in the same church de' Frari within which Titian himself is interred.

Together with the cultivation of the arts during this unwonted period of tranquillity, the Venetians frequently indulged their love of public spectacles and brilliant pageants.

One of those exhibitions, on the marriage of Zilia Sept. 18, Dandolo with the Doge Lorenzo Priuli, is described 1567.

at much length by Sansovino; and it presents a singular mixture of splendour and rudeness. After enumerating the triumphal arches and tapestried streets through which the bride was conducted from her father's palace to grace a regatta† with her presence, we are told that on her

* We are not quite certain on this point; the monument *may* be altogether a cenotaph. The enthusiasm of the Italians dismembered the remains of Canova after a manner which, to colder English feelings, appears fantastical if not disrespectful. The body lies in a church designed by himself at Possongo; the head is preserved in a vase in the hall of the Venetian Academy of Fine Arts; and the right hand is exhibited in the same place also, with an inscription marked by conceit and vapid sentimentality; "Quod mutui amoris monumentum idem gloriæ incitamentum siet."

† A *regatta* was a splendid rowing match on the *Canale Grande*, in which prizes were distributed from a temporary building on the water. A good account of such a festivity is given by Ant. de Ville, in *Burmans' et Grævil Thesaurus Italicus v. pars posterior*.

subsequent arrival at St. Mark's, there were shot off so many and so loud volleys of artillery from the neighbouring *rivi*, that "it was a sound-horrible to the ear." The great portals of the cathedral were partially shut, in order that the populace, by entering more slowly, might escape being trampled to death and suffocated; yet their pressure was so excessive when once admitted, and their clamour so deafening, that after the princess had taken the customary oaths at the high altar, not a syllable of a speech addressed to her by a cavaliers of the doge could be understood. On quitting the church, and proceeding to the ducal palace, she found the state-apartments occupied by the trades and guilds of the city, each of which invited the bride to partake of a rich collation provided at the expense and by order of the doge; and each in turn received a similar answer of thanks, and a similar excuse, both on account of fatigue and of the necessity of passing onward to the next company. The evening concluded with a protracted display of fireworks in the palace court, followed by a supper and a ball, which detained the guests till dawn; and like festivities were continued during three succeeding days; one of which was dedicated to the gentle pastime of bull-baiting for the satisfaction of the newly married princess and her attendant ladies.* This extraordinary rejoicing seems to have been elicited by the rarity of a dogaresa; for, strange as it may appear, a hundred years had passed since any prince had shared his dignity with a consort. Zilia on her death received scarcely less distinguished honours than on her nuptials; her body, habited in the regalia, lay during three days in magnificent state; and was then followed to the tomb by the reigning doge and all the public functionaries.†

New scenes of peril and disaster, however, were ere long to interrupt all peaceful revelries. Since the short war with Turkey in 1593, amicable relations had been steadily maintained with that dangerous power, whose strength mean-

* Of the salvoes of artillery, Sansovino expresses himself, "si sperarono tante artiglierie e code di ferro che fu cosa horribile a sentire." To the trades the dogaresa spoke as follows: "Siate ben trovati, e gran mercè. Hora non fa bisogno, perchè ci sentimo alquanto stanca. La faremo poi un' altra volta. Volemo passar più avanti e visitar li altri."
—*Venet. descritta*, lib. x.

† P. Justiniani, lib. xiv. p. 390, and xv. 423.

time was continually progressive. But Selim II., on his accession to the throne of his father Solymán, 1566. early manifested inclination to break the subsisting alliance, and assiduously and perversely sought causes of offence against Venice. The ambition of a youthful despot is little likely to be checked by the ready flatterers who surround his throne; and we are told that powerful motives of religious zeal yet further inflamed the passion for military glory which Selim displayed. A superb mosque, which he had erected at Adrianople, required funds for its endowment; and the muftis assured its impetuous founder that no revenues could be dedicated to support the charitable institutions annexed to it, excepting such as should be won at the sword's point; and that the offerings most grateful to the prophet were those wrested from the enemies of his faith; "a devilish persuasion," as an old and very agreeable author justly styles it, "which serveth as a spur to prick forward every of those ambitious Princes to adde something to their Empire."* A spirit thus kindled readily created to itself a direct object of pursuit; and in his choice the sultan was guided by the accidental circumstances under which his youth had been passed. During his father's lifetime, the customary policy of oriental governments had removed the heir-apparent from the court of his birth; and by long residence in a district in the neighbourhood of Cyprus,† he had become well acquainted with both the wealth and the weakness of that island; the fertility of the soil; the riches of the nobles; the inadequacy of its defences; and the careless security, no less than the unpopularity, of its Venetian masters. Such allurements might of themselves have sufficed to create a strong desire for the possession of that delicious country; and to these were added others of not inferior power. It was galling to the pride of the Ottomans that strangers from a remote state should be lords of the choicest gem of their own peculiar seas;

* Knolles, *Historie of the Turks*, p. 639.

† *Nella Provincia di Magnesia*, is Paruta's statement, i. p. 12. But Paruta understood history better than geography. The province of Magnesia was in Northern Greece to the south of Thessaly. The city at which Selim resided was the beautiful *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, still retaining its ancient name among the Greeks and European residents, and only slightly corrupted by the Turks into Magnisá. Its vicinity to Smyrna rendered communication with Cyprus very easy.

the harbours of Cyprus furnished a secure retreat for the pirates who infested the Turkish navigation ; and not a sail could pass from Syria to Constantinople without exposure to the Christian cannon at Famagosta. Yet another motive has been ascribed to Selim, by writers of good authority. The habits of that prince were stained with most gross licentiousness ; and in spite of the sober precepts of the Koran, he indulged to excess in his favourite draughts of the rich wines for which Cyprus is distinguished. "I would rather press this luscious juice than purchase it," was his frequent remark, as he passed the goblet to Miches, a vagabond Portuguese, who had won his confidence partly by association in debauchery, partly by a double apostacy ; first from Judaism, afterward from Christianity. This drunken fancy was encouraged by his dissolute companion ; till on one occasion the prince swore by his prophet, that whenever he himself swayed Constantinople his minion should be king of Cyprus. The promise so far elated Miches that he decorated his portrait with a crown, and painted under it the legend *Josephus Rex Cypri*. Voltaire ridicules this story bitterly, and, as it seems to us, without reason. No monarch, he says, ever yet conquered a kingdom for the sake of a Jew, or of a cup of wine.* Perhaps so, but how many great events assail us from every page of history, the secret springs of which may be found in causes scarcely less frivolous and unimportant than those which are here rejected.

Fired with the bright hope of this conquest, Selim communicated his project to the divan, in which it encountered a diversity of opinion. The vizier, Mohammed Pacha, strenuously combated the design ; urging, that if the Turks should unsheath the sword, glory, policy, and religion alike pointed to the relief of the Moors in Grenada, as their paramount duty. On the other hand, the leaders of an opposite faction, Mustapha Pacha, and Piali, a Hungarian renegade, supported the views of their prince ; both from private enmity against the vizier, and from a natural belief

* *Essai sur les Mœurs*, clix. Among other vouchers for the anecdote of Selim and Miches are Ubertus Folleta, i. ap. Grævil *Thesaur.* vol. i. p. ii. p. 947, and Arrighi *de Bell. Cyp.* i. p. x. The words given by the latter writer to the prince are "Nolle se vinum emere, sed exprimere." Morosini writes, "Hoc in Cypro vinum potabimus." ix. p. 250.

that by so doing they should advance their own interests. Selim, perhaps, might long have hesitated between these conflicting opinions, if intelligence had not reached him of great internal disasters to which Venice had recently been exposed. The failure of a harvest had produced A. D. 1569. scarcity in the *Dogado* and its adjoining provinces, so that, far from being able to support her customary armed force, the republic laboured ineffectually to maintain her own population. To that misfortune was added another, which threatened yet more lasting injury. A fire, kindled by some unknown cause in the arsenal, communicated Sept. 13, with its magazines; and the citizens were aroused at midnight by an explosion heard thirty miles around,* the thunders of which seemed to announce to many terror-stricken slumberers startled from their first repose, that the grand consummation of all things was beginning.† The walls, roofs, and towers of the arsenal were blown to atoms; four churches, and numerous buildings in the immediate neighbourhood, were shattered and thrown down; and even the remoter parts of the city were agitated so powerfully that it is believed, if large stores of powder had not been conveyed a few days beforehand to other depôts in the surrounding islands, Venice would have been engulfed as by an earthquake. In consequence of that fortunate removal, the loss of lives was comparatively trifling; and of the shipping, which must otherwise have been totally destroyed, not more than four galleys were rendered unserviceable by the fall of the covered docks under which they were lying. Report, however, conveyed the news of this misfortune to Constantinople with its wonted exaggeration. Not only was Venice wasted by a still increasing famine, but her whole navy, it was said, had perished at a blow. Selim and the war-faction eagerly propagated this rumour; military preparations, on a most extensive scale, were zealously commenced; and, A. D. 1570. early in the following year, an embassy was despatched to the signory, openly demanding the absolute surrender of Cyprus.

* Incendium Navalis Armamentarii eo tonitruo boatu ut dirutis soleque æquatis vicinis Ecclesiis, Veronam usque strepitus insonuerit.—*Palatius, Fasti Ducales* Adnotat. p. 355, from Manolesso.

† Furono molti che storditi da suono così inusitato, si crederon casso giunta la fine dell' Universo.—*Paruta*, l. p. 23.

The pretext advanced for this haughty summons was the refuge afforded by the insular authorities to pirates; the chief arguments urged to procure compliance were fierce menaces of vengeance on refusal. "We demand Cyprus," said the chiaus, in his address to the senate, "which we will obtain, if not by good-will, most assuredly by force. Look well that you draw not our fearful sword from its scabbard; for if it be once bared, it shall carry war to the uttermost into each of your provinces: and place not reliance on your treasure, for we will drain it from your coffers with the fury of a torrent!" To this proud and swelling denunciation the council replied with dignity, by expressions of surprise that Selim should thus early violate his pledges of amity, and that he should require the cession of a kingdom to which he had no pretence, and which had been so long swayed by the republic. Venice, it was added, would never be wanting to the protection of her rightful dominions; and "she accepted the challenge now tendered, with unshrinking confidence that the justice of her cause must obtain assistance both human and divine, and must ultimately ensure her triumph."

The first care of the senate, in order to meet the approaching danger, was to accumulate treasure; and, partly by loan, partly by voluntary contributions, partly by once more setting a price on state offices and exposing them to sale, the sums requisite for defence were procured. The last-named disgraceful and impolitic expedient extended the number of *procuratori*, the second dignity in the republic, to every purchaser who could deposit twenty thousand ducats in the exchequer; and the payment of another certain stipulated sum admitted the patrician youth to the full privileges of the council, before the attainment of legal majority. In the formation of a league against the infidels, the senate was by no means equally successful: France was destitute of a marine, and had become a prey to civil dissensions; the emperor had but recently concluded a treaty with the Porte; the joint efforts of the pope, of Genoa, and of the knights of Malta could add no more than six galleys to co-operate with the Venetian fleet; and even when Philip II. of Spain, during the lingering progress of negotiation, allowed a provisional force of sixty sail to proceed to Messina, it was doubtful whether they would ever

be permitted to afford more than nominal assistance. Thus scantily provided, the doge, LUIGI MONCENIGO, but a few months after his election, received intelligence that the Turks had made a descent on Cyprus.

It was on the 1st of July that Mustapha Pacha, anchoring at Limaso, near the ancient Paphos, poured forth, from one hundred palanders and one hundred and fifty ships of war, a huge armament, amounting at the lowest estimate to fifty-five thousand fighting men, supported by a formidable train of artillery; to oppose which force the garrison of the island presented but five hundred Stradiots, and rather more than one hundred native horse, three thousand regular infantry, of whom only two-thirds were serviceable, and a small body of half-disciplined militia. With so greatly disproportionate numbers, it was equally impossible to oppose a landing,* or to keep the field; and the troops, accordingly, were distributed into the two strong-holds of Nicosia and Famagosta; leaving the enemy to choose freely which of those cities they would first attack. Ninety Venetian galleys, it is true, had assembled at Zara, since the commencement of April, but they were waiting the arrival of men and stores; they were looking for a junction with the Spanish squadron; they did not dare to encounter the Turkish fleet, which kept the sea with nearly double their numbers; and the inaction to which they were reduced brought with it that fearful scourge of maritime war, the scurvy. The 4th of August arrived before they were able to proceed to Candia, where, combining with the Spaniards, they were placed under the general command of the Genoese Andréa Doria.

The Turks profited abundantly by the tardiness of their enemy. Having chosen Nicosia as their first object of attack, they pitched their camp under its walls, near the end of August,† the intermediate time having been spent in

* Morosini states that the Turks were astonished to find their disembarkation unopposed, and that those who first leaped on shore so strongly suspected the whole beach to be undermined, that force was necessary to induce them to advance. He adds also, that a distant field of corn, waving under a light breeze, was mistaken for a Venetian battalion (*lib. ix. p. 304*).

† Daru says the 22d of July, but Paruta's words positively contradict that date. "*Segui questo sacco a' nove di Settembre il quarto-decimo giorno dopo che vi s'era accampato l'esercito Turchesco.*" i. 110.

spreading themselves over the island, and ravaging the estates of the Venetian nobles; forbearing altogether from any violence on the natives, whose ill-disguised disaffection from their present masters appeared to promise considerable advantage to the invaders. Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, stands on an elevation, in a rich champaign country, almost in the centre of the island; and from the salubrity of its climate, its abundance of water, the beauty of its neighbouring scenery, and its agreeable site, had ever been the favourite and most populous residence of the Cypriotes. Much pains had been taken to render it capable of defence; but each of the eleven bastions, even in its reduced circuit of five miles, required two thousand men as a fitting garrison; and Nicolo Dandolo, the governor, who is, on all hands, represented to have been inadequate to the great responsibility imposed upon him, could muster but eight thousand men; one thousand two hundred of whom were Italians, the remainder a strangely-mingled mass, rudely armed with pikes or instruments of husbandry hastily adapted to purposes of war, and wholly untrained to service; who therefore rather encumbered than assisted him. It was not, accordingly, without fearful anticipations, that he found himself invested by the main body of the Turkish army, under "an old and most expert general; a severe and absolute commander, whom it would have been a hard matter to have withstood with an equal power."*

From the beginning of the siege, all communication with Famagosta was intercepted by the enemy's cavalry; and the Turks opened and advanced their trenches so rapidly, that in a few days batteries were thrown up almost close to the counterscarp. From these their engineers, protected by a lofty parapet, not only maintained an incessant cannonade, but harassed the affrighted garrison by frequent discharges of artificial fire, at that time largely employed in military service. The artillery of the Venetians, meantime, was skilfully planted and served; and in more than one very daring sortie they materially injured the Turkish lines. In the last of those sallies, bravely and dexterously conducted by two young Venetians, if Dandolo, according to his promise, had supported them by the Stradiot cavalry,

* Knolles, 847.

it was thought the Mussulmans would have altogether abandoned their works. But the timidity of the governor induced him to close the gates, and to disregard the remonstrances of a body of volunteers anxiously wishing to press forward to the succour of their comrades ; who, having surprised the trenches, and chased away their guard with much slaughter, were in turn overpowered, and for the most part cut to pieces.

At length, however, the besiegers established themselves in the very ditch, under cover of embankments which resisted both the front and flanking fire ; and from that position they attempted three separate assaults. Foiled in each attack, Mustapha summoned from the fleet twenty thousand additional men under Ali, the Capudan Pacha ; and before daybreak on the 9th of September, he once more issued from his trenches to a general storm. The ardour of the troops was stimulated by assurances of the most brilliant promotion ; and they were taught to believe that if any pacha were killed the reversion even of that imposing dignity should be the prize of the brave man who first planted his foot on the captured battlements. The garrison, on the other hand, was no less encouraged by delusive hopes of speedy relief ; and so confident were the troops of its approach, that the busy hum of preparation heard overnight from the trenches was thought a prelude not to assault, but to retreat. The sun had not yet risen, when the foremost division of the enemy crossed the ditch, and, not only unresisted, but unobserved, scaled a bastion from which they had before been more than once repulsed. The sentinels, exhausted by fatigue and lulled in fancied security, slept upon their posts, and were instantly put to the sword. It was in vain that the rest of the garrison, aroused by the tumult, rushed headlong to the walls. Without order, without leaders, unacquainted with the precise nature both of their own danger and of the advantage gained by their enemy, as fresh swarms mounted the ramparts, they were either overpowered and cut to pieces on the spot, or chased into the heart of the city. The miserable inhabitants and the few surviving troops took refuge in the great square, and made there some feeble show of resistance ; till Ali, having scoured and secured the whole circuit of the walls, turned three pieces of cannon upon this ill-organized body,

and dispersed it after a few discharges. The governor, the Bishop of Paphos, and some of the chief nobles now threw themselves, as a last hope, into the palace court; which they maintained with the resolution of despair till they received promise of quarter. But no sooner had they abandoned their barricades, and surrendered their arms, than an indiscriminate massacre commenced; of which the defenceless prisoners were the earliest victims. Not all the sufferers, however, awaited the merciless sword of their foes. Many precipitated themselves headlong from the roofs of their houses. One matron of lofty birth, having sought her husband and three sons, and learned intelligence of their death in the breach, hastened back with phrensiéd steps to her home, as yet inviolate. There, passionately embracing for the last time her youngest and now only boy, she stabbed him to the heart, in order that he might escape from the yet greater horrors which were approaching; and then piercing her own bosom with the weapon reeking with the blood of her child, she fell lifeless on his body.* Every crime with which the unbridled fury of barbarians pollutes the first hours of conquest broke loose upon the devoted city; and in a single day twenty thousand lives were sacrificed in cold blood. The survivors were condemned to slavery; and a signal vengeance was afterward taken upon some of their brutal tyrants by one high-minded captive. A galeot, conveying much rich spoil and the flower of the Nicosian youth to Constantinople, was blown in pieces by a maiden of noble family; who, ill-brooking the menaced dishonour of the seraglio, and content to purchase exemption from shame by the sacrifice of life, found opportunity to fire the magazine.†

For nine days after this fatal sack of Nicosia, the combined fleet, now amounting to more than two hundred sail, and carrying fifteen thousand troops, of which number Venice provided one hundred and fifty-five ships and eleven

* Gratianus *de Bell. Cypr.* lib. 1. p. 10. An English version of this History is dedicated by the translator, R. Midgley, to the infamous Judge Jeffreys, with fulsome expressions of "honour and veneration" for "his lordship's eminent character and most illustrious merits," his "great and exemplary virtues," &c. &c.

† Contarini, *Hist. della Guerra contra Turchi*, p. 20; Morosini, ix. 320.

thousand soldiers, continued moored inactively in the harbours of Candia, wholly ignorant of the great disaster which had occurred in Cyprus. At length putting to sea, they learned intelligence of the Turkish success. On the receipt of this news Doria at once declared that the object of his expedition was at an end; separated himself from his allies in spite of their remonstrances, and made sail for Sicily; while the Venetians, thus reduced in numbers, and wholly unequal to the hazard of encountering the Ottoman fleet, returned to their former anchorage in Candia. During this unhappy and inglorious campaign, in which so many losses had been endured, and not one blow attempted in return, the monthly expenditure of the republic amounted to three hundred thousand ducats.

Mustapha, having left sufficient force for the protection of his first conquest, lost no time in marching upon Famagosta. From his camp, which he pitched at about three miles' distance, in a spot called Percipola,* he insulted the garrison by displaying the heads of their Nicosian comrades, mounted on the pikes of horsemen, who daily paraded the walls in barbarous triumph. But the season was too far advanced to permit any hope of reducing, before winter should set in, a city which demanded regular approaches; the few works which he constructed were speedily destroyed by brilliant sorties; and, wisely resolving not to diminish the ardour which recent victory had kindled in his troops, by exposing them to unavailing peril, he forbore from the continuance of active operations, endeavoured to bring his enemy to capitulate, and, failing in that attempt, withdrew to cantonments in which he awaited the return of spring.

The whole eastern coast of Cyprus may be considered as forming one large bay, in about the central point of which amphitheatre stands the city of Famagosta. Towards the sea, which washes two of its four sides, a natural breakwater of shelving rocks protects a small and shallow harbour, whose single northern entrance, presenting a mouth scarcely forty feet wide, is guarded by a chain and a fortress. The walls on the land side enclose an area of somewhat more than two Italian miles, skirted by a ditch hewn out

* Ubertus Folleta, lib. III. *apud Grævii Thesaur.* vol. 1. pt. II. p. 1022.

of the solid rock, and flanked by numerous towers; none of which, however, afforded a sufficiently broad platform for the employment of heavy ordnance. The neighbouring country is one wide plain, upon the western portion of which, about the middle of the following April, the Turks began to break ground; having transported their battering train from Nicosia, and being reinforced by a large influx of volunteers, allured from the coasts of Syria and Caramania by lavish promises of booty. So numerous indeed were those unpaid bands which crossed to Cyprus after the fall of Nicosia, as almost to justify the vaunt of their leader, that, if each of his soldiers would throw but one of his slippers into the fosse, he might construct a level path to the battlements of Famagosta. More than forty thousand pioneers laboured incessantly day and night in the trenches; and so stupendous were their exertions, that along a course of three miles, in part of which a hard, rocky soil was to be excavated, not only the infantry, but even horsemen might advance, protected in such manner, that scarcely the points of their lances could be discovered from the summits of the besieged towers. The whole army was securely lodged within these vast lines, which, before the end of May, were pushed to the edge of the counterscarp. Ten forts, constructed of a strong framework of oak filled up with earth, ashes, and woolsacks, and each presenting a front fifty feet in breadth, protected these formidable approaches; and eighty pieces of heavy artillery, among which were four basilisks of immeasurable caliber, played continually against half a mile of curtain. To meet these fearful preparations, the garrison, into which some scanty reinforcements had been thrown, mustered seven thousand men, half Italian, half Greek infantry, commanded by a valorous and experienced soldier, Marc' Antonio Bragadino.

One of the most skilful engineers of the day, Geronimo Maggi, superintended the artillery of the garrison; and he is said, in the course of the siege, to have rendered eighteen cannon of the enemy unserviceable, by shooting into their very mouths. Great, however, as was his military skill, it is not so much on that account, as from his successful cultivation of letters under circumstances the most unfavourable to their pursuit, that the remembrance of Maggi still survives with posterity. While languishing in slavery at

Constantinople, without assistance from books, and relying solely on the copious stores of a powerful memory, he composed more than one Latin treatise on subjects of curious research.* These works were dedicated to the French and Imperial ambassadors, whose influence he solicited for a remission of his captivity. But the Vizier Mohammed, jealous of foreign interference, and unwilling to release a prisoner whose talents might again prove detrimental to his country, prevented the application of the envoys, by strangling the unhappy Tuscan in his dungeon.

Frequent sallies were at first hazarded with no inconsiderable success; but, as the enemy drew closer, the garrison was confined within the walls by the overwhelming numbers which encircled them. The face of the counterscarp was at length perforated, and the besiegers, securely established in the ditch, commenced their mines. One of these, carried under a bastion which protected the arsenal, was watched in every stage of its progress by the garrison; who, without power to obstruct its advance, saw the galleries bored, and knew the moment at which the chamber was framed and the powder lodged within it. The post, however, was far too important to be abandoned while a chance remained for its defence, even although eventual destruction awaited its protectors; and each fresh battalion, when it relieved its predecessor, mounted guard as men prepared every moment for certain death. When at length this mine was sprung, the Turks rushed forward over the blazing ruins, but they met with unexpected resistance; even women stood in the gap and mingled in the battle; and the storming party was beaten back after a bloody struggle of more than five hours' duration.

The breach thus effected was diligently repaired: sleep, save in the extreme heat of midday, when neither party could bear arms, was wholly abandoned; barrels filled with earth were rolled to the shattered parapet, arranged in a double tier, and surmounted by bags of mould constantly moistened, which formed a secure breastwork. In a few

* One of these essays, "De Tinnabulis," was suggested by the prohibition of bells in Turkey; another, "De Equuleo," by the various instruments of torture which the brutality of Maggi's oppressors continually employed before his eyes. We have had occasion to read both of them with pleasure and with profit.

days, however, a second mine was sprung in another quarter, and the explosion was followed by a renewed attack. The Bishop of Limaso, standing at the riven wall, uplifted a crucifix, and encouraged the defenders: while even the noblest Cypriote dames, undismayed by the sight of carnage, gathered round him, brought supplies of food and ammunition to the soldiers, or rolled huge stones upon the heads of the enemy in the ditch beneath. Frustrated in both these assaults, the Turks for a time confined themselves to bombardment, and swept the ramparts by a perpetual cannonade. Volleys of arrows were aimed upwards, so that they might fall perpendicularly within the streets; and in a single day and night five thousand rounds of artillery are said to have been discharged. One gate, which seemed most exposed, was next attempted. It fronted an outwork which had been won after horrible slaughter; and in the intermediate space, the Turks having piled fascines and logs of a native wood, a kind of fir which burns with a suffocating vapour and most offensive stench, kindled the mass, and fed it with fresh combustibles during many succeeding days. Every effort to extinguish this most grievous fire was ineffectual, and yet, even against a mode of attack so new and so harassing, the sentinels continued to maintain themselves.

Now, says Contarini, who has most vividly recorded this heroic struggle, matters were reduced to extremity. Every thing failed within the city, excepting the valour of the commander and the zeal of his followers. Wine and fresh meat, even that of such unclean animals as famine alone can induce its miserable victims to taste, were long since utterly exhausted; and a little bread for food, and a little vinegar mingled with water for drink, was all that remained. Three mines were already carried under the principal gate, an artificial mound of earth was raised to a greater height than the battlements, and the besiegers all around were more than ever indefatigable. Of the Italian troops in the garrison only five hundred remained unwounded, and these were worn down by perpetual exposure to heat, toil, hunger, and watching; of the Greeks the greater and better part had altogether perished. Neither medicine nor surgical aid was attainable for the sick and hurt; and the few troops still capable of bearing arms appeared to be sup-

ported much less by physical strength than by indomitable vigour of spirit. It was under these most calamitous circumstances that, on the 20th of July, the chief inhabitants addressed a memorial to Bragadino, couched in a tone of humblest supplication; and imploring him, that since the city, without defenders, without provisions, without hope of succour, was manifestly no longer tenable; since they had heretofore, while a chance of success existed, willingly placed their lives and fortunes at his disposal, for the service of the republic; that he would now consent to accept honourable conditions; by which alone he might preserve their wives and daughters from dishonour, their sons from captivity or the sword; or perhaps from a fate of yet greater horror, the everlasting destruction of their souls by a forced abandonment of their faith. To this remonstrance the governor replied that their fears were misplaced, that relief was at hand, and that he would instantly despatch a frigate to Candia, which could not fail to bring back supplies and reinforcements, and with them the certainty of ultimate deliverance.

During the following ten days, so powerful was the effect of the Turkish mines, that scarcely a single point in the ramparts was left unshattered. Bragadino, nevertheless, continued obstinately to reject all suggestions of surrender. It was at length announced to him that ammunition had failed, and that the magazines contained no more than seven barrels of powder; and thus deprived of the remotest hope of protracting defence, he consented to beat a parley, at noon on the 1st of August. Hostages were immediately interchanged, and a very few hours sufficed for the adjustment of terms, which appeared to be regulated far more by a recollection of the honourable resistance hitherto maintained by the garrison, than by the sad straits to which it was finally reduced. The troops were to be landed in Candia by Turkish vessels; they were to retain all their property and arms, five pieces of cannon, and three horses for the principal officers. Similar conditions were granted to the citizens who chose to expatriate; and such as preferred abiding in their native seats received a guarantee for the security of their lives, honour, and possessions. As an earnest of fidelity, forty galleys immediately entered the harbour, and partial embarkation commenced on the day

following. It was with mutual expressions of profound admiration that the remnant of the garrison passed through the Turkish lines : the Italians were moved with astonishment at the gigantic works and countless hosts which they surveyed ; for the white turbans, glistening above the trenches in a circuit of three miles, struck the eye as if the ground were deeply covered with flakes of snow ; and, on the other hand, the pale, weakened, and emaciated forms of those who had so long and with so desperate a valour defied all their efforts, extorted, not without some feeling of shame, the respect of the Turks. They tendered refreshments to their late foes, addressed them with kindness, extolled their former constancy, and bade them be of good cheer for the future.

On the morning of the 5th of August, Bragadino notified to Mustapha that he was prepared to surrender the keys of the city ; and that, on receiving permission, he would come for that purpose to the camp. The reply of the Turkish general was couched in terms the most generous and honourable ; he anticipated pleasure from the approaching interview ; he acknowledged the valour of his rival, and he declared his readiness, everywhere, and on all occasions, to avouch it by the strongest personal testimony. On the delivery of this courteous message, Bragadino, accompanied by his chief officers and some Greek gentlemen, and escorted by fifty musketeers, rode forth to the lines. Himself led the troops ; and in order to display such pomp as it was yet in his power to exhibit, and as the occasion seemed to demand, he wore his magisterial purple robes, and was shaded by the umbrella which marked his office. At the entrance of the pacha's tent, this gallant company was received with due honours ; they delivered up their arms to the attendants, according to the oriental custom ; and they were then introduced to the presence of Mustapha. For a while, the conversation which ensued ranged over various and indifferent matters ; and the pacha veiled his ulterior foul design with consummate dissimulation. At length, turning abruptly to Bragadino, he asked what security he intended to offer for the safe return of the transports which were to bear his soldiers to Candia ? To this inquiry Bragadino replied, that no mention of security occurred in the capitulation. Among his attendant suite,

one of the most distinguished was Antonio Quirini, a young Venetian of noble birth, of approved valour, and of graceful person; well known also to the Turkish army as the son of a skilful engineer who had long superintended the fortifications of Nicosia. Pointing to that youth, Mustapha required him as a hostage; and when Bragadino firmly rejected the demand, the pacha, leaping from the ground with furious gestures, accused the Italians, in terms of unmeasured violence, of having put to death the Mussulmans taken prisoners during the siege. Then, on a sign to his eunuchs, Quirini and the other officers were seized, bound, dragged from the pavilion, and cut to pieces under the pacha's eyes. Bragadino, reserved for a more cruel and more lingering fate, was thrice ordered to bare his neck to the sword, which was thrice withdrawn when it had been raised to strike; and after this repeated infliction of the chief bitterness of death had passed, he was thrown to the ground and deprived of his ears; the pacha meanwhile asking, with blasphemous scorn, why he did not cry to his Saviour for assistance. This savage outrage was followed by the immediate massacre of the attendant escort, and of three hundred Christians who had unsuspectingly trusted themselves in the camp; and on the second day afterward, when Mustapha entered Famagosta, he ordered Thiepolo the officer left in command, to be ignominiously hanged. Then, following up these treacherous butcheries by a general violation of the treaty, he seized as prisoners and condemned to the oar the whole garrison, and such Cypriotes as had already embarked. The miseries of Bragadino were protracted during ten days longer. Every morning he was brought out, laden with heavy baskets of earth, and driven to labour on the batteries which he had vainly defended; and each time that he passed Mustapha's pavilion he was bowed down, and compelled to kiss the ground at the tyrant's feet. Then, led down to the seashore and fastened in a chair, he was hoisted to a yard-arm of one of the ships, and a loud signal having been given, he was exhibited aloft to the cowardly derision of the Mussulman sailors, and the indignant pity of his own enslaved comrades. In the end, when all power of inflicting further contumely appeared to be exhausted, he was carried to the great square of Famagosta, stripped upon the public scaffold, chained to

a stake, and slowly flayed alive, while Mustapha looked down upon the barbarous spectacle from a height adjoining the palace. Unsatiated by the dying agonies of his illustrious victim, the pacha's cruelty pursued even his lifeless remains. His skin, stuffed with straw, was mounted on a cow, and paraded through the streets, with the umbrella held over it in mockery; and it was then suspended at the bowsprit of the admiral's galley, and displayed as a trophy during the voyage to Constantinople. One other base passion remained to be gratified, and the pacha, having glutted his revenge, found indulgence, some years afterward, for his avarice. The skin of their martyred relative, purchased at a high price by the family of Bragadino, was deposited in a sepulchral urn in the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, where it still remains with a commemorative inscription.*

Cyprus was thus won by the Turks, at the cost of more than fifty thousand men: and during this successful progress of the Ottoman arms at a distance from the *Laguna*, Venice had trembled for safety even within her own gulf. Before the close of 1570, the senate attempted to treat with Constantinople; and the King of Spain, who, if peace had been concluded, would have been exposed single-handed to the fury of the infidels, was alarmed into activity, and brought to an end his long-pending negotiation with the pope and Venice. By that alliance, two hundred galleys and half as many transports, bearing fifty thousand infantry and four thousand five hundred horse, provided at the common expense in different proportions, and the whole armament placed under the command of a Spanish general, was to rendezvous at Messina, in the ensuing May. Venice, by incredible exertion, prepared her contingent by the appointed time; but the tardy Spaniards were still in arrear,

* The particulars of Mustapha's treachery in his interview with Bragadino, were reported by an eyewitness. The Conte Hercole Martenengo attended in his suite; and when dragged to execution, owed his life to the intervention of a eunuch, who concealed him at the moment, and afterward accepting a ransom, demurred to release his prisoner, who in the end escaped. The pacha's succeeding cruelties were matters of open notoriety. P. Justiniani, delighting in prodigies as much as Livy, and with less excuse, cannot dismiss this sad history without a miracle. Bragadino's head, he says, when fixed on a spear, emitted, for three nights, rays glittering like those of the sun, and diffused a marvellous fragrance.—[ib. xvi. p. 451.

when two hundred Turkish sail, having laid waste the islands between the Morea and the Dalmatian coast, without meeting an enemy to oppose them, pursued their triumphant course within the Adriatic itself. Passing Ragusa, and sacking Curzola and Lesina, those scenes of early Venetian renown, they spread consternation through the *Lagune*, within which their presence was hourly expected. Every precaution which haste permitted was adopted in the capital; and the anxious citizens, obstructing their canals with chains and sunken vessels, and covering the *aggere* with batteries, prepared for an attack similar to that by which they so greatly suffered two centuries before, when Chiozza was won by the Genoese. The Turkish admiral, however, content with the glory of having insulted Venice in her own seas, and apprehensive that if he protracted his stay, the confederates, by that time assembled, would hasten to her relief and blockade him in the gulf, changed his course, after this proud demonstration, and made sail for the Morea.

It was not till the end of August that the allies completed their arrangements, and assembled at Messina. The command of their armament was intrusted by Philip II. to his half-brother, Don John of Austria, a bastard whom Charles V. had acknowledged, whom Philip continued to distinguish with all the honours due to royal birth, and who, although scarcely two-and-twenty years of age, already manifested qualities which were to rank him among the greatest captains of his time. The cold and suspicious policy of the Spanish court clogged this young prince with a council of war; whose suggestions of timid caution, if they had been implicitly obeyed, might have robbed him of his glory: and early in his command, that jealousy which is so frequently the bane of combined armaments was awakened by a petty accident. The allies directed their course in the first instance to Corfu, in hope of learning tidings of the enemy; and during one of the last days of September, an affray between the crew of a Candiot galley and some troops in the Spanish service embarked in her wellnigh occasioned the dissolution of the confederacy. Lives had already been lost in the squabble, when Sebastiano Veniero, the Venetian commander, who was near at hand, sent on board first an inferior officer, and afterward his captain;

both of whom were chased away by the soldiers, and the latter with much personal injury. Veniero, indignant at this gross affront offered within sight of his own flag-ship, arrested the Spanish captain, his ancient and sergeant, convicted them on plain evidence as authors of the tumult, and hanged them summarily at his yard-arm. This invasion, as it appeared to Don John, of his peculiar authority, was grievously resented; and although his council partially succeeded in calming his irritation, they could not wholly extinguish it: so that he refused to hold any direct communication with Veniero, and transacted all affairs relating to the common service through the intermediate agency of Agostino Barbarigo, one of the *provveditori*; a nobleman of sound discretion and great military experience.

This ill-timed dissension occurred almost at the moment at which intelligence was received of the station of the Turkish fleet under Ali Pacha, somewhere in the neighbouring Gulf of Lepanto. Nearly equal in numbers,* each knowing that his enemy was at hand, although not yet precisely informed as to his position; each ardent for battle, yet believing that his antagonist would not engage without compulsion, the two chiefs manœuvred for a few days in the hope of bringing on the desired contest; till at daybreak on the 7th of October they descried each other's sails blackening a long range of coast, from the entrance of the Bay of Corinth to the far-famed promontory of Actium, immortalized by the greatest maritime battle in ancient history. No sooner were the hostile fleets in sight, than the Spanish commissioners urgently represented to their generalissimo the great hazard of an engagement, and the necessity of avoiding it, if possible. But they were indignantly silenced by the generous spirit of the prince: "Activity!" he said, "not advice, is wanting at such a moment as this!" and firing a gun, and displaying at his mast-head the standard of the league as a signal for battle,

* Contarini who gives a detailed list of the ships and their captains on both sides, makes the allied force amount to two hundred and fourteen sail, the Turkish to two hundred and seventy-five. But six galleasses of the Venetians, from their great size, and the superiority of their guns, reduced this excess of the enemy in positive numbers very nearly to equality. Daru notices a MS. authority which raises the fleet of the Turks to three hundred and thirty-three, that of the allies to two hundred and seventy-one. It may safely be admitted that five hundred ships were in presence of each other.

he ordered his shallop, and passing from galley to galley, he urged zealously upon his followers every argument by which they could be excited or invigorated. He pointed at once to the overwhelming shame and peril of defeat; to the gain, the glory, and the necessity of victory; assuring them that our Lord and Saviour would succour his own Christians: promising them certain triumph if they fought as became men, and did but remember that the present was the moment at which they might win undying renown, and take just vengeance at one blow for all their manifold former wrongs. This address was hailed on all sides by enthusiastic shouts and *vivas*, and by vehement pledges that every man would fulfil his duty.*

Emerging from the intricate channel between the Albanian coast and the opposite islands, and doubling the Curzolari rocks, the *Echinades* of antiquity, the combined fleet had full room to extend itself in its previously appointed order of battle. Six large Venetian galleasses were distributed about half a mile in front of the main line, which covered a surface of nearly four miles in length; no more room than sufficed for the passage of a single ship being left between any two galleys. The right, under Andréa Doria, kept the open sea; the left, commanded by the *provveditore* Barbarigo, advanced along the Grecian shore: in the centre Don John took his station, supported on either side by the papal and Venetian commanders, Marc' Antonio Colonna and Veniero; and throughout the line, as a testimony of mutual confidence, the galleys were intermingled, without any regard to national distinction.

Immediately as the infidels were discovered, says the animated narrative of Contarini, that happy news ran from ship to ship. Then began the Christians right joyfully to clear their decks, distributing arms in all necessary quarters, and accoutring themselves according to their respective duties: some with arquebuses and halberts, others with iron maces, pikes, swords, and poniards. No vessel had less than two hundred soldiers on board; in the flag-ships were three or even four hundred. The gunners, meantime, loaded their ordnance with square, round, and chain shot, and prepared their artificial fire with the pots, grenades, car-

* Contarini, 49.

casses, and other instruments requisite for its discharge.* All the Christian slaves condemned to the galleys for their crimes were unchained, restored to entire liberty, encouraged to fight for Jesus, through whose mercy they had recovered freedom, and armed in the same manner as their comrades, with sword, targe, and cuirass. Meantime the squadrons took up their stations with admirable precision and silence, and the galleasses were towed forward in advance. Every vessel was then dressed with flags, streamers, pennons, banners, and banderols, as on a day of jubilee and festivity; the drums, trumpets, fifes, and clarions sounded: a general shout rang through the armament; and each man invoked for himself the Eternal Trinity and the Blessed Mother of God; while the priests and many of the captains hastened from stem to stern, bearing crucifixes in their hands, and exhorting the crew to look to Him who had descended visibly from heaven to combat the enemies of his name. Moved and inflamed by ghostly zeal, this great company assumed, as it were, one body, one spirit, and one will; careless of death, and retaining no other thought except that of fighting for their Saviour: so that you might perceive on a sudden a strange mystery, and a singular miracle of the supreme power of God, when in one instant all feuds and disunions, all hatred and malice, however inveterate, and arising from whatever bitter injuries, which hitherto neither the mediation of friends nor the terror of authority could allay, were at once extinguished. Those who had mutually inflicted or suffered wrong embraced as brethren, and poured out tears of affection while they clasped each other in their arms. O blessed and merciful omnipotence of God, how marvellous art thou in thy operations upon the faithful!†

The Turks when first seen were stationed about twelve miles distant, covering the entrance of the Gulf of Patras from Cape Kologria to Mesolonghi. Mahomet Siroco, Governor of Alexandria, led their right; Ulucci-Ali, an Italian renegade, and King of Algiers, their left; and the Capudan Ali

* Grenades and carcasses are commonly said not to have been used till 1596, twenty-five years after the battle of Lepanto; but few dates are more disputed than those connected with the various inventions in gunnery. We know not how else to render *trombe*. *Pignatte* were probably, as we have called them, the pots in which wild-fire was kept.

† Contarini, 48 b.

in person, assisted by two other pachas, Pertau and Hassan, commanded the main battle. Ignorant of the numbers of the Christian force, which, as it advanced from behind the islands in columns was not yet fully developed; and perceiving that Doria, with the first division, after heaving in sight, bore out widely to starboard (in order that he might afford free passage for the rest of the fleet); Ali imagined that movement to be preparatory to flight; and having already resolved upon action, in opposition to his colleagues, he now felt doubly confident of victory, and gave orders for immediate advance. The fleets at first approached each other slowly and majestically; the sun had already passed the meridian, and shone therefore dazzlingly in the faces of the Turks; and a westerly breeze springing up just before they closed gave the allies the advantage of wind also; so that when the cannonade began the smoke was driven full upon the infidels. A corsair who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, not having seen the rear division, reported erringly of the Christian numbers; and stated, moreover, that the large galleasses in the van carried guns only on their forecastles. The Turks therefore bore up to them fearlessly, supposing that when their bows were passed all danger was at an end. Great then was their consternation when a close, well-directed, and incessant fire, in which every shot told, from the admirable level of the guns, pointed much lower than those of the loftier Turkish vessels, burst from each broadside, scattering destruction over every object within its range. The wind blowing in their teeth kept the Mussulmans long exposed to these deadly volleys; and whenever at intervals the smoke cleared away, they saw a horrible confusion of shivered spars, yards, masts, and rigging: here, galleys split asunder, there, others in flames; some sinking, some floating down the tide, no longer manageable, their banks of oars having been shot away; and everywhere the face of the sea covered with men, wounded, dead, or drowning.* In this disorder, Mahomet Siroco was the first to close with the allied left; and dexterously passing between their outermost ship and the land, he tacked rapidly upon their sterns. Barbarigo in that quarter was soon engaged in a most unequal combat

* Contarini, p. 51.

with six Turkish vessels : and while gallantly cheering his men he was mortally wounded by an arrow, which, piercing one of his eyes, deprived him of speech, although not of life till three days after the battle. Nani, his successor in command, not only beat off his numerous enemies, but took one of their galleys ; and the numbers every moment becoming more equal, the Turks, dispirited at the loss of their first advantage, gave way ; Siroco's flag-ship was sunk ; and the admiral himself picked up from the waves, covered with wounds, and scarcely retaining signs of life, was immediately despatched. Not a Mussulman ship in that division escaped ; a few which attempted flight were pursued and captured ; most were carried by boarding ; and when their decks were once gained, the Christian slaves by whom their oars were manned, being released and armed, revenged the bitter sufferings of their captivity by unsparing and indiscriminate slaughter.

In the encounter of the central divisions, Ali and Don John, each readily distinguished by the standard of chief command which he bore, singled each other from the *melée* ; Veniero and Colonna fought closely beside the prince's *reale*, and the remainder of the hostile squadrons soon joined in general combat—the Christians for the most part employing firearms, the Turks crossbows and archery. Then “the mixed noise of joy and lamentation made by the conquerors and the conquered, the sound of muskets and cannon, and many other warlike instruments, the cloud of smoke which obscured the sun, took away the use of ears and eyes, and made the fight the sharper and more confused.”* Thrice was Ali's galley boarded, and his crew driven to their mainmast ; and thrice were the Spaniards repulsed ; till at one critical moment both Don John and Veniero, pressed by an immeasurably superior force, which had hastened to the pacha's assistance, appeared lost beyond the possibility of rescue. The seasonable advance of a reserve under the Marquis di Santa Croce restored the balance of numbers ; and the self-devotion of two Venetian captains, Loredano and Malipiero, who plunged into the thickest fight, diverted peril from their chief at the cost of their own lives. Don John was no sooner freed from his other

* Henry, Earl of Monmouth, translation of Paruta, p. 153.

opponents than, although slightly wounded by an arrow,* he renewed combat with his most distinguished antagonist; and as his boarders grappled again with the pacha's galley, and sprang once more upon its deck, Ali fell by a musket-shot, and his crew threw down their arms. Accustomed to the more civilized usages of modern warfare, we shudder when we hear that the pacha's head was severed from his body, set upon the point of a spear which Don John bore at that time in his hand, and mounted on the summit of his own mast.† The grisly trophy, soon recognised, struck terror into the whole Mussulman fleet, and decided the hitherto wavering fortune of the day. The galley of Pertau was the next prize which surrendered, her commander himself escaping only by taking to his boat. Thirty ships spread all sail in flight; but as their Christian pursuers neared them, the mariners leaped overboard, and few gained the land; so that in the centre, as in the division of Siroco, every Turkish vessel was captured or destroyed.

The shout of "Victory" from the main battle of the allies was answered by the same glad word from their left, but on the right the engagement was still continued with less assured success. Doria, whether from inequality of numbers, or from a desire, imputed to him on more than this one occasion, to expose his own squadron to as little hazard as possible, had swept round in a wide and distant compass, as if to outflank the enemy; and had consequently not yet been in action. The practised eye of Ulucci-Ali perceived at once the great advantage thus afforded him by the breach in the Christian line; and bearing down upon fifteen of their ships, thus separated from their mates, he captured a Maltese and set fire to a Venetian galley. The former was speedily recovered, the latter perished with all her crew. By far the most touching incident in this portion of the battle arose out of the strong mutual affection displayed by three grandsons of Luigi Cornaro, the valetudinarian who has obtained renown by his unexpected longevity. One of those brave youths was wounded so desperately that he

* Bizar, *Hist. de la Guerre de Cypre*, p. 255, a French translation by F. de Belleforest Commingeois.

† Bizar, p. 239.—*C'était abuser du droit de la guerre, mais ceux qui avaient écorché Bragadino dans Famagouste, ne méritaient pas un autre traitement.*—Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, cix.

could not be removed from the burning vessel; the others might have escaped, but they refused to abandon their brother in his extremity, and they shared his fate.* Of the singularly rapid alternations of fortune during the action, Pietro Justiniani, another Venetian, affords a very remarkable instance. Engaged in company with two Maltese ships against Ulucci-Ali's division, he sank three Turkish vessels and pursued a fourth. At length overpowered by numbers, he received quarter from a Mussulman by whom he was boarded, and soon afterward, when recaptured by Doria, he was able to extend the like generous protection to his recent conqueror.†

The superiority of the Algerine tactics continued to baffle Doria when he attempted, too late, to occupy the position which he ought to have assumed in the outset. Ulucci-Ali, having gained the wind, was consequently able to renew or to avoid combat at pleasure; and perceiving the total rout of his friends in the centre, and that a large division of the conquerors, no longer needed in that quarter, was approaching him on one side, while Doria menaced him on the other, he boldly dashed onward through the line which he had already broken; made for the Curzolari and Sta. Maura, and effected his retreat with between twenty and thirty of his squadron. This small remnant, together with a reserve of about an equal number which found shelter within the depths of the Gulf of Lepanto, was all that remained of the vast Turkish armament after five hours' battle. Fearful indeed was it, says Contarini, to behold the sea discoloured with blood and shrouded with corpses; and piteous to mark the numberless wounded wretches tossed about by the waves, and clinging to shattered pieces of wreck! Here might you observe Turks and Christians mingled indiscriminately, imploring aid while they sank or swam; or wrestling for mastery, perhaps on the very same plank.‡ On all sides were heard shouts, or groans, or cries of misery; and as evening closed, and darkness began to spread over the waters, so much more was the spectacle increased in horror.§

* Gratianus, lib. iv. p. 223.

† Id. p. 230.

‡ One of the fine groups in West's picture of the battle of La Hogue has embodied this description.

§ Pol. 53, b.

Within an hour after sunset, the Christian fleet, towing its prizes, had gained a safe anchorage in the neighbouring harbour of Petala; where it rode without injury through a heavy gale which sprang up during the night. The loss of the allies in killed alone amounted to nearly eight thousand men: of the Turks more than twenty-five thousand were slain; nearly four thousand, among whom were two sons of Ali, were taken prisoners; twelve thousand Christian slaves were released; one hundred and thirty ships of war were captured, all of which, with their abundant stores and equipments, were brought to port; one hundred and thirty were abandoned and destroyed, and about eighty were sunk during the battle.*

Ali's galley, as described by Knolles, who copies from Bizar, must have been the choicest specimen of contemporary ship-building. It was "so goodly and beautifull a vessell, that for beauty and richnesse scarce any in the whole ocean was comparable with her. The decks of this gally was on both sides thrice as great as any of the others, and made all of blacke walnut-tree like unto ebony, checkered, and wrought marvellous faire, with divers lively colours and variety of histories. There was also in her divers lively counterfeits, engraven and wrought with gold, with so cunning a hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well have been compared unto some prince's palace. The cabbin glistened in every place with rich hangings wrought with gold twist and set with divers sorts of precious stones, with certaine small counterfeits most cunningly wrought. Besides this there was also found in her great store of the Bassa's rich apparell wrought with the needle, so curiously and richly embossed with silver and gold that his great lord and master Selymus himselfe could

* We have nearly followed Contarini's numbers, who states the killed among the allies to have been precisely seven thousand six hundred and forty-six, of whom two thousand were Spaniards, eight hundred Romans, and the remainder Venetians. Among these, Venice lost one flag-officer (*capitano di fund*), Barbarigo, and seventeen captains. The same writer calculates the Turks killed at twenty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-four, their prisoners at three thousand four hundred and eighty-six. Knolles says twelve thousand Christian slaves were released from the oar, Justiniani fifteen thousand. Daru reduces the killed of the allies to between four and five thousand, but he does not cite his authority.

hardly put on more royal or rich attire." The pacha fell by the hand of a Macedonian in the service of the Venetian arsenal, who was knighted by Don John, and received a more substantial reward in a pension of three hundred ducats, and the casket of the slain Mussulman leader, containing six thousand more. To the same fortunate soldier also was allotted, as his spoil, the massive silver-gilt staff (the burrell, as Knolles terms it) of the pacha's standard. It was covered with Turkish inscriptions: "Allah guides and aids his faithful in worthy enterprises; Allah favours Mohammed;" and another more familiar to our ears, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The Greek, on his return to Venice, sold this prize to a goldsmith, from whom it was redeemed by the senate at the cost of one ducat for each ounce; a price which appears to be recorded as inordinate, but which a just feeling of national pride could deem scarcely more than the value of so distinguished a trophy.*

Veniero hastened to announce this glad intelligence to his countrymen, and so speedily was it conveyed, that on the tenth morning after the battle the vessel bearing his despatches entered the port of Lido. It arrived off land at the hour in which the *Piazza di San Marco* is most frequented; and much surprise and anxiety was at first excited by the appearance of a ship of war steering between the two castles, and crowded on its deck by mariners and soldiers in Turkish uniforms, with which the crew had clothed themselves out of their spoils. The vessel saluted the forts as she passed; and the brief doubt of the populace was rapidly converted into enthusiastic joy when Mussulman standards were descried trailing at her stern. Shouts of "Victory" hailed the landing of the messenger, and happy were those among the delighted throng who could kiss his hand or touch even his cloak. They escorted him to his own home, round which so great was the pressure of the multitudes who besieged its doors, that his mother, when she learned the full extent of her joy, could obtain access only by tears and entreaties, in order that she might greet and embrace her son.† Long was it before

* Bizar, p. 257, 266. Knolles, p. 884.

† Gratianus, lib. iv. p. 229.

men's minds could accommodate themselves to a complete belief in the unheard-of triumph which he related. The doge and his cortege proceeded at once to St. Mark's, where they heard *Te Deum* chanted, and celebrated high mass. Solemn processions of four days' continuance were commanded throughout the Venetian dominions; and during many succeeding evenings the several guilds of the capital, especially the rich companies of woollen and silk manufacturers, and the German merchants, paraded through the chief streets with splendid pageants; and passed the night with music and revelry in illuminated booths, adorned as we are assured with pictures by Raffaele, Michael Angelo, and Titian. The feast of Sta. Justina, on which the battle had been fought, was set apart as a perpetual anniversary, and distinguished by an *andata* to the church dedicated to that holy virgin; and a coinage was issued from the mint, in which the legend—*Memor ero tui Justina virgo*—seems to have been more calculated to record the saint than the victory. Tintoretto received instructions for a picture of the battle to decorate the public library; funeral orations were pronounced in St. Mark's over the slain; and Justiniani speaks with very favourable criticism of one of those speeches delivered by Giovanni Battista Resario.* Another, which was written, we know not whether it was spoken, by the historian Paruta, may be found at the end of his larger work; it is a cold and laboured composition, dilating far more upon the noble origin of the republic, her long and inviolate independence, and the unrivalled excellences of her constitution, than upon that which the occasion obviously demanded,—the merits of the illustrious dead.

It has been usual loudly to condemn the remissness of the allies after this splendid triumph, to tax them with ignorance of the means by which profit might be drawn from the bounty of propitious fortune, and to assert that the victory of Lepanto was wholly without results. In defence of their

* Lib. xvi. p. 456. In a page or two before, the same historian has mentioned, with exquisite simplicity, that because he sometimes cultivated the muse in her poetical as well as in her prosaic garb, he himself penned some verses in commemoration of this great victory. It may be sufficient, without citation, to state that Achelous, Maleus, Glancus, Triton, and Amphitrite are introduced in the narrow compass of fifteen hexameters, and made to weep over the departed heroes.

fracture it may be pleaded that when immediate operations were proposed, so great had been the havoc that no more than five thousand troops were found disposable for service. Whether the battle were indeed fruitless may be decided by inquiring what would have been the fate of Europe if the infidels had conquered? What new barrier was Christendom prepared to raise against the establishment, in her fairest portion, of the despotism of the Ottomans—perhaps of the imposture of their prophet? Paruta wisely compares the victory of Lepanto with that of Salamis, “wherein, though the Greeks did, with incredible valour, overcome the mighty Prince Xerxes his fleet, they did not yet reap any more signal advantage thereby than of having delivered Greece for that time from the imminent danger of being enslaved by barbarians.”* And in either case was such a deliverance *nothing*? No sooner was their total defeat announced at Constantinople, than the Turks, seized with consternation, meditated the abandonment of their city; and, as if the conquerors were already at the gates, they traversed the streets with terror and despair; asking the Christian residents whether, when their victorious brethren had established themselves in the capital, they would permit its present possessors to live in it after their own laws and institutions, on the payment of a tribute? But there were good reasons why those fears should prove groundless. The allies, as we have already shown, were too much enfeebled to prosecute active operations; and it may be perceived, besides, by those who discover something more than *human* agency in the mighty labyrinth of history, that it was neither for their own glory that the Christians were permitted to conquer, nor for their own merit that the Turks were saved from utter extinction. In the words of an acute writer, whose unravelment is the more sure, because the philosophy by which he has attained it is purified and strengthened by a sober piety, “It is an instructive fact, that the intervention of Providence appeared no less conspicuously in the *preservation* of the Turkish power, at an earlier period (after the battle of Lepanto) for the *correction* of Europe, than in its repression by the arms of Sobieski for its *deliverance*.”†

* Henry Earl of Monmouth, p. 145.

† Forster, *Mahometanism Unveiled*, li. 483, and the passage from Vol. II.—U

The season, in truth, was much too far advanced to allow any further prosecution of the campaign, even if the equipment of the allies had been unimpaired; and breaking up for the approaching winter, Don John sailed for Messina, to repose upon his richly deserved laurels, while the Venetians resumed their station in Corfu. Not so easily, how-

ever, can we excuse the weak and tardy measures
 A. D. which disgraced the following year; but Venice by
 1572. no means participates in the blame attaching to them. Her preparations were completed on a large scale early in the spring; and in order to conciliate Don John, who had not yet been cordially reconciled to Veniero, that gallant officer, with little regard for his late distinguished services, was appointed to a separate command, and replaced by Giacompo Foscari; who, while awaiting the slow promised junction of the Spaniards, made a bold but abortive attempt on Castel Nuovo, in the bay of Cattaro. So great, on the other hand, were the advantages gained by the Turks, on recovery from their first natural panic, by these miserable delays and petty jealousies of the confederates, so unbroken was their vigour, so undiminished their resources, that after the destruction of almost their whole navy in the preceding October, Ulucchi-Ali, now Capudan Pacha, sailed from Constantinople in March, with two hundred galleys, to menace and insult Candia. True indeed was that which Knolles calls "a witty and fit comparison" made by one of the chief Turkish prisoners, Mohammed Pacha of Negropont; "that the battell loste was unto Selymus as if a man should shave his bearde, which would ere long grow again; but that the losse of Cyprus was unto the Venetians as the losse of an arme, which once cut offe could never be againe recovered."*

Gratianus, from whom this anecdote is borrowed, relates another equally pointed saying of the same ready Mussulman. He appears to have been confined at Rome, where the papal Admiral Colonna, one day visiting his quarters, bade him learn from the generous treatment which he then

Libertus Folletæ there cited, which we have paraphrased in the text—the consternation of the Turks, of which that historian speaks, is confirmed by Gratianus also, *de Belle Cyp.* lib. iv. p. 240.

* Page 885.

experienced, hereafter to mitigate the cruelty used by the Turks towards their captives. The pacha, in return, implored his excellency's pardon, and excused the ignorance of his countrymen, on the score of their little practice as prisoners.*

The allies also put to sea, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, for out of the hundred ships which Philip II. had promised as his contingent, not more than twenty-two were as yet furnished. Each party shrank from the hazard of a general battle; the confederates on account of their weakness, the Turks still smarting from their recent overthrow; so that although the hostile fleets were more than once in each other's presence in the course of the summer, they separated after partial skirmishes. September had nearly passed before Don John resumed the command of an armament which then outnumbered the Turks; and Modon and Navarino were proposed as objects of attack; the latter, a port fertile in ancient remembrances, and destined in our own times to bestow a rich harvest of glory on other combined fleets. One of those designs was abandoned, the other was unsuccessful; and at the decline of the year, the confederates parted as before, after a wholly inconclusive campaign. This irresolute and unsatisfactory conduct of the Spanish court justly irritated A. D. 1573. both the pope and the Venetians, and the haughty dismissal of their remonstrances tended to increase disgust. Nor was it long before the dilatoriness of the pontiff himself, in furnishing his share of contribution to the general purse, destroyed whatever little good-will continued among the allies; so that the league, although nominally existing, had virtually terminated, when the divan obliquely signified an inclination to negotiate separately with Venice. After a lingering discussion a treaty to the following effect was ratified in March. Cyprus was wholly abandoned to the Porte; the fortress of Sopot, the single conquest made by Venice in Albania, was restored: and the republic consented to pay a tribute of one hundred thousand ducats during the next three years—a condition upon which Selim, who felt how materially its attainment would increase his reputation, peremptorily insisted. The pope received intel-

* Lib. v. p. 230.

ligence of this peace with unreasonable indignation ; the King of Spain honestly admitted its necessity and its wisdom : and a keen and sarcastic commentator on history, in much later times, has remarked, that by its conditions, it appeared as if the Turks rather than the Christians had been conquerors in the battle of Lepanto.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM A. D. 1573 TO A. D. 1617.

Visit of Henry III. to Venice—Plague—Embellishment of the Capital—The Rialto—Story of Bianca Cappello—Alliance with Henry IV.—The Alchemist Bragadino—Interdict of Paul V.—Triumph of Venice—Attempt on the Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi—Apology of James I.—War of the Uscocchi.

DOGES.

A. D.

LUIGI MONCENIGO.

1576. LXXXVIII. SEBASTIANO VENIERO.

1578. LXXXIX. NICCOLO DAPONTE.

1585. XC. PASCALE CICOGNA.

1595. XCI. MARINO GRIMANI.

1606. CXII. LEONARDO DONATO.

1612. CXIII. MARC' ANTONIO MEMMO.

1616. CXIV. GIOVANNI BEMBO.

ONCE again we open upon a long period of undisturbed tranquillity, another of those breathing-times so greatly needed after the exhaustion produced by the fresh losses of each succeeding war. The events to which, during the next forty years, our attention is chiefly invited by contemporary historians, sufficiently avouch the barrenness of the annals of the republic ; and the siege of Famagosta and the triumph of Lepanto stand out in highly relieved con-

* Voltaire, *ut supra*.

trast with the festivities on the reception of a foreign prince, and the conduct of a war of pamphlets against the holy see.

In the year following the Turkish peace, on the death of his brother Charles IX., Henry III. stealthily quitted his Polish throne for that of France; and in ^{A. D.} 1574. his passage to his new dominions through Venice, a route which he selected in order to avoid the Protestant states of the empire, he was entertained by the signory with a magnificence upon which the native writers have delighted to expatiate. Having been conducted by the whole body of senators, each attired in his robes of office and rowed in his own gondola, from Malghera to Murano, the king was visited on the following morning by the doge, in the customary pomp of the Bucentaur. Each prince, as we are told, on approaching his brother sovereign, raised his bonnet and uncovered himself precisely at the same moment; and Henry, having first ennobled* all the artificers at the glass-works, as a token of approbation of their great skill, embarked on board a new and gorgeous galley, constructed purposely for his transport, in which the three hundred and fifty-four Sclavonians who formed its crew appeared clad in the French monarch's livery. The illustrious company, passing round by Lido, attended mass performed by the patriarch in the church of San Nicolo, and then proceeded to the noble palace of the Foscari, on the Great Canal, which, together with the two contiguous mansions of the Giustiniani, was assigned to the king as a residence. Thirty patrician youths were selected as his personal attendants; whenever he went abroad his canopy was supported by six *provveditori*; and the city resounded by day with music and shouts of joy, and glittered by night with illuminated streets and adulatory emblems blazing in artificial fire.

The house of Valois had long since been enrolled in the Golden Book, and Henry, claiming his privilege of nobility, assisted at a sitting of the Great Council. In that assembly, the urns containing the gold and silver balls, the

* By some titular distinction, about which the signory was careless. It was a privilege, the exercise of which appears to have been much affected by foreign princes on their travels.

chance distribution of which decided the primary elections of the *Pregadi*, were offered to him uncovered, and when, exercising his right thus obtained, he nominated Giacomo Contarini, more than a thousand votes in the subsequent ballot confirmed the royal choice. On another morning the venerable Titian received the monarch in his *studio*, presented him with some choice pictures, and entertained his suite with splendour. A more boisterous entertainment was prepared for the illustrious guest, when he viewed from his balcony a pugilistic combat between the *Nicolotti* and the *Castellani*; the two popular factions into which the rabble and the gondoliers of Venice are in the habit of dividing themselves, according to the particular half of the city in which they happen to be born. Two hundred champions on either side contested the bridge *dei Carmini* by the prowess of their fists; some blood was harmlessly drawn, and many of the leaders were precipitated into the canal below, much to the delight of the princely and noble spectators; till Henry, willing to content both parties by leaving victory undecided, gave a signal for suspension of hostilities.* Among the wonders

* Sanevino gives a full account of this sport: Morosini states that cudgels were employed in it, *Pugna simulachrum ligneis fustibus editum* (lib. xii. 593); if so, it was contrary to general usage, for the admission of any weapon was strictly forbidden on pain of death. The passion for boxing reigned as strongly among the Venetians as it does among ourselves; and the antipathy between a *Nicolotti* and a *Castellano*, concerning which some amusing particulars may be found in Mr. Rosc's *Letters* (i. 284), seldom evaporated, even in an accidental meeting, without an appeal to the fists. Of these there were three kinds, which for the most part were exhibited on the bridge of San Barnabà. 1. *Mostra*, a pitched battle between two combatants, the brief rules of which imported that it was cowardly to strike a man when down; that the first blood decided the victory; that after three rounds without blood on either side, they must part friends; that whoever could throw his antagonist into the water, gained a double victory; and that if a challenger mounted the bridge without meeting any opponent, he obtained the greatest of all honours. 2. *Frotta*, a chance encounter of numbers. 3. *Ordinata pugna*, a prearranged battle-royal, such as that described in the text, in which those who won possession of the bridge were declared victorious. All these fights were regulated by officers chosen among the two parties themselves, and named *Parini*: and the nobles, who, no less than the populace, were numbered in one or other of the ranks, always humoured the lower classes by affecting staunch partisanship. The reigning doge, on account of the site of the palace, was invariably a *Castellano*, and to counterbalance this predominating influence, some shrewd gondolier was yearly elected an antidoge, and, like our English,

exhibited at the arsenal, which the royal guest next visited, was the construction and equipment of an entire galley from its various pieces of framework prepared beforehand, while he partook of a collation.* Nor has it been omitted, to the glory of the Venetian confectionary, that the table on that occasion was decorated with rare but most uncomfortable appointments,—the fruits, napkins, knives, forks, and plates being formed of sugar. At a subsequent banquet in the ducal palace, three hundred groups of the same frail material, nymphs, lions, ships, and griffins, delighted the eyes of the men and the palates of the ladies; to which latter we are assured they were presented most gallantly, *per favore*. After eight days of laborious pleasure, the King of France quitted the Adriatic with lavish expressions of gratitude; and the senate considered it worth while to inform posterity of his abode in their capital, by a wordy inscription on a marble tablet, which still fronts the eye at the summit of the Giant's Stairs.†

The death of Titian, more regretted and more remembered than those of all his forty thousand fellow-citizens to whom the same plague proved fatal, gives unhappy distinction to the following year; and during the ravages of that pestilence the very question which

A. D.
1575.

Mayor of Garrat, was invested with a mock authority, and attended the *endata* of the marriage of the sea with a burlesque court. Victory in these contests was highly esteemed, and the women of the beaten party often drove their husbands from their homes, with loud reproaches for their dishonour. "*Va via di quò, porco, infame, vituperoso!*"—(Antonio de Ville, *Pyctomachia* ap. Grævii *Thes.* vol. v. *pars post.* p. 368.)

* This feat, however surprising, was perhaps exceeded when George III. visited Portsmouth after Lord Howe's victory, in 1794. On that occasion a ninety-eight-gun ship was launched, brought into a wet dock, and completely calked and coppered, altogether in nine hours, in order to exhibit the various processes to the king.

† Ben Jonson has marked the chronology of the plot in his masterpiece *Volpone*, (what language presents a more noble drama?) by some lines allusive to these festivities:

————— I am now as fresh,
As hot, as high, and in as jovial plight,
As when, in that so celebrated scene
At recitation of our comedy,
For entertainment of the great Valois,
I acted young Antinous.

In another place (ll. 1), Peregrine tells Sir Politick Would-be "that the plagues in the Tower of London has whelped a second time," an event which also occurred in 1603.

has been again so much contested of late years among differing medical practitioners, was discussed in the presence of the signory, by the physicians of Padua and Venice. The former denied, the latter asserted, the doctrine of contagion; and the senate, little qualified to pronounce a scientific judgment, halted for a long time between the conflicting opinions; till the boldness of the Paduans, who fearlessly exposed themselves to all hazards in the chambers of the sick and dying, for a time unhappily prevailed. Four days; however, had scarcely passed after the relaxation of sanitary precautions, before the frightful disease spread rapidly through those *sestieri* of the city which had hitherto escaped infection: yet notwithstanding this calamitous practical rebutment of their principle, the death of one of their own body, and the disgrace and dismissal of the rest, the non-contagionists so obstinately persisted in their first error, that there were those who wished to pursue them by legal penalties.* Great as was the surrounding mortality, the magistrates remained undismayed at their respective posts; and, although not unfrequently some noble who had addressed the council in the morning was borne from his palace a corpse at night, the assemblies of the senate were on no occasion intermitted. Terror was at its height, human aid was powerless, and hope had failed, when Moncenigo, after solemn mass in St. Mark's, registered a vow—in the presence of as many citizens as the miserable state of the capital permitted to gather round him,—to found and dedicate, in the name of the republic, a church in honour of the Redeemer, to endow it sumptuously, and to perform a yearly *andata* to it, on the return of the day on which Venice should become free from her present scourge. If we are to believe Morosini, from that hour amendment commenced with a miraculous speed; for although on the morning before the vow two hundred deaths were announced to the council, four only were declared on that which succeeded. Before the close of the year the city was restored to health, and Palladio was engaged to erect on the *Giudecca* its noblest ornament, the church of the *Redentore*, appropriated to the Capucins.†

* Maurocenus, lib. xii. p. 626.

† The church of *Sta. Maria delle Salute* was founded in consequence of a similar vow during a plague in 1630; the first stone was laid on the

The lofty deserts of **SEBASTIANO VENIERO**, the conqueror of Lepanto, were rewarded by the ducal bonnet on the death of Moncenigo; but he enjoyed the prize only for a short time, and his brief reign was marked by a great public calamity. The ducal palace, with the exception of its outer walls, was burned to the ground by a fire which, but for the seasonable fall of the roof, would probably have involved in like destruction the mint, the library, and St. Mark's itself. One part of the loss consequent on this disaster was wholly irreparable, that of the historical pictures which decorated many apartments; the subjects however were repainted, and in most instances with great skill. The government also had sufficiently good taste to leave untouched the original shell of the palace, as designed by Filippo-Calendario in the reign of Marino Faliero; and to rebuild within its most imposing, although perhaps somewhat grotesque, façades, the irregularly magnificent pile which still avouches with proud testimony the ancient majesty of the fallen republic. During the remainder of this century the embellishment of the capital proceeded rapidly; the *Piazza di San Marco* was completed, and the wooden bridge, which, during three hundred years, had formed the sole communication between the two great divisions of the city, was replaced by the single marble arch of the far-famed *Rialto*; an arch long the glory of Venice and the envy and the admiration of strangers, till a modern utilitarian tourist discovered that its chief supposed excellences were in truth defects; that it was erroneous to praise its length of span and lowness of spring; and that it would be far better to substitute a cast-iron bridge from the furnaces of Rotherham, which might be free from these egregious faults!* Besides these great works, a new and more commodious site was chosen for the dungeons hitherto constructed in the vaults under

Fest of the Annunciation in the following year, the birthday of Venice, which coincidence is marked by an inscription on the pavement, *Unde Origo inde Salus*.

* Macgill's *Travels*, London and Edinburgh, 1808. The architect of the *Rialto* was Antonio da Ponte; it was begun in 1687, and completed in 1691; the chord of the arch is ninety-six feet ten inches, the height of the centre from the water twenty-one feet; the extreme breadth sixty-six feet.

the palace, and the prisons now connected with the residence of the doge by the *Ponte della Paglia*,* and the better known *Ponte dei Sospiri*, were commenced in 1589. The minute of the senate instructed the committee of superintendence to provide a building *più del grave e del magnifico*;† and the prisons which arose in consequence of those orders are styled by Coryat the "fairest," and by Howard the "strongest," which either traveller had visited.‡ Howard inspected the Venetian prisons in 1778, when he found between three and four hundred persons in confinement, many for life, and in loathsome and dark cells; and all those in darkness assured him that they would have preferred the galleys for life.

To the reign of NICOLÒ DAPONTE belongs an episode of Venetian history scarcely needing the additions which A. D. it has sometimes received from imagination, to render 1578. it fit ground-work for a romance.§ Bartolommeo Cappello, a noble of ancient lineage, of honourable station in the republic, and of brilliant and extensive connexions, prized more than all of these the beauty of his daughter Bianca, and in his hopes already allied her with the loftiest and most powerful house in Venice. Chance however and propinquity (that most fertile spring of love) had secretly directed the maiden's own wishes towards a Florentine youth of handsome person and gallant bearing; who filled no higher station than that of cashier under the protection of an uncle, in the wealthy bank of the Salviati, not far from the *Pallazzo Cappelli*. Pietro Buonaventura, the favoured suitor, in order to secure the object of his passion, concealed the poverty and obscurity of his birth; and persuaded her that he was a nephew and a partner of the

* The *Ponte della Paglia* is so named, because of old when the nobles rode to the council they dismounted and left their beasts to feed at that spot—so on the same account the bell which summoned them was called *La Trottiera*.—Daru, vol. vi.

† Doglioni, *Hist. Venet.* lib. xv.

‡ Coryat, *Crudities*, p. 217.

§ Malespini, who has framed two novels upon the history of Bianca Cappello (*Parte ii. Novelle 84, 85*), is answerable for many additions, particularly that of the baker's boy who closed the door left open by the fair one during her assignation. Galuzzi, upon whom we have almost wholly relied (*Istoria del Gran Ducato di Toscana sotto il Governo della Casa Medici*, lib. iii. 4, iv. 2, 8), states expressly that Malespini at the time was proclaimed in Venice *un falsario*.

rich bankers by whom he was in truth but subordinately employed. False keys and the aid of a governess,—whom the novelist Malespini somewhat inappropriately describes as *una fedele matrona*,—procured the enamoured Bianca nightly egress from her father's palace to stolen interviews with her lover. Not many months elapsed before concealment became no longer possible; and under the dread of separation upon discovery, and yet more of a bloody Italian vengeance for her dishonour, Bianca resolved to abandon home and country, and to commit herself entirely to the adventurer whom she now called husband. Having collected her jewels and a well-replenished purse,* she threw herself accordingly into a gondola on the night of the 1st of December, 1563, gained *Terra Firma*, and hastily proceeded to Florence under the guardianship of Pietro.

The Tuscan duchy at that time was still nominally held by Cosmo dei Medici; but the government of his capital and all virtual authority had been devolved by him on his son Francesco, to whose protection the fugitives immediately resorted. But it was in vain that the young prince solicited reconciliation for Bianca with her indignant family. Her father, disappointed in his projects of ambition, deceived and abandoned by that daughter upon whom had been centred his fondest affections, and brooding upon the misalliance which had sullied, as he declared, the stream of his hitherto uncontaminated blood, renounced all further connexion with her, and avowed purposes of unremitting revenge; in which he was zealously encouraged by his brother-in-law Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia. Their first step was to procure the imprisonment of Pietro's unhappy uncle, who vainly protested his total unacquaintance with the amour, and died miserably after a short confinement. Then representing to the Ten that the disgrace of the Cappelli involved in it an unpardonable affront to the whole body of Venetian nobility, they obtained an edict inflicting perpetual banishment on Pietro, and offering a price of two thousand ducats for his head.

* This fact destroys the ingraftments of Malespini as to her extreme poverty when at Florence, and relieves her also from Tenhove's imputation. It is quite needless to exaggerate the infamy of Bianca Cappello. See *Memoirs of the House of Medici*, translated by Sir R. Clayton, vol. ii. ch. 13.

Meantime, a frequent and familiar intercourse with Bianca, her grief, her fears, her defencelessness, her singular beauty, and her equally distinguished powers of mind, struck the imagination and engrossed the affections of Francesco dei Medici. He loved, and did not plead in vain; yet pending a negotiation of marriage with Joanna of Austria to whom he was already plighted, the indulgence of his passion was concealed from the public eye.

A. D. 1566. No sooner, however, were his nuptials completed, than, regardless of his bride, he appointed Pietro his master of the robes, established Bianca magnificently in a palace adjoining his own, and entertained her as his avowed mistress. Whether the husband, who at first contentedly bartered his honour for patronage, and formed what the Italians, accustomed to such shameless arrangements, name *un triangolo equilatero*, afterward manifested a troublesome jealousy, and was despatched by Francesco's orders, or whether the unextinguished hatred of his Venetian enemies at length gratified itself by his death,* does not appear certain: but, after seven years' abode in Florence, he was found murdered in the streets. Every hour now increased the prince's weakness and Bianca's influence; and, not satisfied with reliance upon her rare natural endowments, upon her unrivalled personal charms, her wit and elegance, her vivacity and playfulness, and those thousand little pleasing caprices which moulded Francesco to her will,†—all which her bitterest censurers are compelled to accord to her—she is said to have called to her aid the superstitions of her time; to have received into her full confidence a Jewish hag pretending to more than human powers; to have employed filters and incantations; and to have gathered round her a rabble of charlatans and astrologers, all employed in the one grand object of heightening and continuing her lover's attachment. Far blacker accusations also rest upon her memory. The prince being eagerly desirous of male issue, which his marriage-bed had as yet failed to produce, Bianca is said to have feigned

* Maleaspini assigns a third cause, an intrigue, of which he openly boasted, with a Florentine lady of rank, whose dishonour was avenged by her family.

† "Bellezza, ingenio, vivacità congiunta con una certa scondia e capricci piacevoli."—Galuzzi.

appearances which promised gratification to his most ardent wish. As the full season at which those hopes were to be realized approached, she lodged in different quarters of the city three women at the eve of confinement; and adroitly presented to Francesco a supposititious boy, the produce of one of those mothers. The wretched tools of her iniquitous fraud, if permitted to live, might have compromised her security, they were therefore speedily removed by poison; and more than a year afterward, a Bolognese lady who had been employed in this agency, and of whose fidelity some doubts were entertained, received permission to visit her native city, and was assassinated among the mountains on her route. The dying confessions of this last victim, who survived a few hours after having been mortally wounded, revealed these complicated atrocities; and having been transmitted to Ferdinando, Cardinal dei Medici, Francesco's brother, they increased his deserved and undissembled abhorrence of the guilty woman who held the prince in willing thralldom.

Francesco was now in possession of the throne, and he was soon also to be freed from the ties of marriage. The splendid reception afforded at his court to a brother A. D.
1576. of his mistress, and the unlimited confidence which he appeared to repose in him, not only so far alienated his subjects as to produce a menace of revolt, but aggravated the sorrows of his neglected consort and closed them by death in premature child-birth. The final object of Bianca's ambition now seemed easy of attainment. Many years since, even during the lifetime of her husband, and at the commencement of the duke's infatuated passion, she had led him before an image of the Virgin; and had there received and given a solemn pledge that when both were released from their existing bonds they would become mutually united by marriage. Nevertheless some remaining sense of shame, the urgent representations of the cardinal, and the fear of heightening disaffection among his people, awhile restrained Francesco from thus completing his disgrace. For a short time he absented himself from Florence, and promised to renounce all future connexion with Bianca; till the artifices of a confessor whom she held in pay stifled the voice of conscience and of reason, and led him back insensibly to his former slavery. Before

two months of widowhood had expired, he privately married her, without revealing the secret even to his brother; nor was it till during a severe illness, when Ferdinando remonstrated upon the gross scandal of the constant attendance of a mistress upon that which might prove his death-bed, that he avowed her to be his wife, and pleaded the son, Don Antonio, whom she had borne him, in extenuation of the folly.

To his people these ill-omened nuptials were not declared till the year of customary mourning had closed;* and then, in order that no formal ratification of his union might be wanting, the grand-duke resolved to conform to that usage of Venice which prohibited the intermarriage of a foreigner with any of her noble families; and to demand Bianca, not as a daughter of Cappello, but of St. Mark himself. A splendid embassy was accordingly despatched to the signory avowing the prince's desire to ally himself with Venice in preference to any other European state; and praying that his consort might be affiliated by the republic, in order that he also might claim the privileges and discharge the duties of an adopted son. The former dishonour of Bianca was instantly buried in oblivion both by the public authorities and by her own family. The Ten forgot their denunciations of vengeance; her parents reacknowledged their beloved and long-lost daughter with expressions of tenderest affection; and the Patriarch Grimani, who had been the most active stimulator of her early persecution and of the projected assassination of her first husband, now received the Florentine ambassadors with sacerdotal pomp on their entrance into the *Palazzo Cappelli*. In a brilliant assembly of the signory, the councils, and all other public functionaries, and amid a throng of delighted and approving relatives, Bianca was formally recognised as "the true and particular daughter of the republic, on account and in consideration of the many eminent and distinguished qualities which rendered her worthy of every

* According to Tenhove, the notification was received with scorn and ridicule, and the populace chanted ribald songs about the streets of Florence.—(Clayton, li. ch. xiii. p. 500.)

Il gran duca di Toscana
Ha sposata una putana
Gentildonna Veneziana.

good fortune ; and in order to meet with corresponding feelings the esteem which the grand-duke had manifested towards Venice by this his most prudent resolution." Salvoes of artillery, bonfires, and illuminations proclaimed the universal joy. The father and brother of the new-born child of the state were created *cavalieri*, and allowed precedence before all others of their class ; "the signory condescended to visit the Florentine envoys privately, and the senate offered their congratulations openly and ceremoniously. Two of the gravest nobles, supported by ninety gentlemen of rank, each accompanied by a magnificent suite, were deputed to put Bianca in possession of her newly acquired rights, and to assist at the second nuptials which Francesco determined to celebrate with public solemnities. The patriarch and all the chief Cappelli transferred themselves to Florence, as witnesses of this glory of their house ; and in order to consummate its aggrandizement, the consent of the holy see was obtained for Bianca's coronation, that she might be placed on an equality with the former adopted daughters of St. Mark, the queens of Hungary and of Cyprus."

No baser sacrifice than that which the Venetian government and the Cappelli offered up at the shrine of worldly interest is presented to us by history ; and much as every generous feeling despises that false pride of conventional honour which induced her family to renounce Bianca in her former virtuous poverty, far more does it revolt from the mean adulation with which they were seen to fall down and worship her subsequent greatness of station and of infamy. But mark the sequel ! The cardinal, although seemingly reconciled, was beset with distrust, and cherished perpetual and well-founded suspicions that his presumptive right of succession might be frustrated by the artifices of Bianca. If Don Antonio, indeed, were legitimated and declared heir to the throne, so flagrant a violation of justice might be remedied after the death of his reputed father ; but what if Bianca, although now manifestly unfitted for maternity, were again, as she more than once seemed plotting, to impose upon her credulous husband another boy, who, as the presumed issue of wedlock, would be his legal successor ! Prompt measures were demanded, and it is too probable that the *most* prompt were adopted ; for the Medici were

familiar with crime, and their domestic annals were written in deeply died characters of blood. Two daughters sacrificed to the jealousy of their husbands, a third poisoned by the orders of her father, who, with his own hand, put to death one son for the assassination of another, are among the incidents of horror which mark the life of the first Grand-duke Cosmo; and his successor Francesco was now destined, as we may reasonably believe, to swell this foul catalogue of unnatural murders.

The cardinal accepted an invitation to the retired hunting-seat of Poggio a Caiano, and in the course of a week's abode both the grand-duke and Bianca expired within a few hours of each other. The studious care with which the bodies were first opened by the court physicians, and the parade with which they were afterward exhibited to public inspection, tended only to increase a natural suspicion that their deaths were the result of poison. Whether Ferdinando drugged a favourite dish for both, or whether that drugged for him by Bianca,—and detected, as the credulity of his age believed, by a change of colour in his ring,*—was first tasted inadvertently by Francesco, and then finished in despair by herself, was not ascertained at the time; and it must therefore continue doubtful whether this great crime is to be attributed to the ambition of a prince eager to reign, or to the hatred of an infuriated woman. The funeral honours due to the rank of the late grand-duchess were denied by Ferdinando on his accession; and her remains, instead of being committed to the splendid cemetery of the Medici, were interred privately, and without a memorial, in the crypt of San Lorenzo; her arms and emblems, wherever blazoned, were carefully defaced; and, in order more effectually to transmit her name with dishonour to posterity, her title was erased from

* This story may appear to derive some countenance from a statement of Sir Henry Wotton. In a *Character of Ferdinando dei Medici*, he says, "This duke, while I was a private traveller at Florence, and went sometime by chance (sure I am without any design) to his court, was pleased out of some gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity (for nothing else could move it), to employ me into Scotland with a casket of antidotes or preservatives, wherein he did excel all the princes of the world."—*Reliq. Wotton*. p. 246. That casket laid the foundation of Wotton's fortunes; it was sent to protect James I., before his accession to the crown of England, against a poisoning plot which had come to the knowledge of the grand-duke.

all public documents, beginning with the registry of Don Antonio's birth, and in its room was substituted *la pessima Bianca*.

On the accession of Henry IV. to the crown of France, Venice was among the first powers which recognised his title; and the great benefit which the king derived from that early acknowledgment by a state renowned for political sagacity was repaid by him with lasting friendship. He knighted the ambassadors of the republic, and presented the treasury of St. Mark's with the sword which he had worn at the battle of Yvry. The signory, in return, enrolled the royal name in the Golden Book, by an unprecedented ballot of one thousand six hundred and thirty assentient votes; and with yet more substantial gratitude they instructed their ambassadors to commit to the flames, in the king's presence, certain obligations for considerable sums which he had borrowed during his necessities. Henry, who was quick of speech, and loved pleasantry to his heart, first thanked the envoy with becoming courtesy, and then gayly assured him that he had never before warmed himself at so agreeable a fire.* As the Spanish monarchy continued to increase its dominions in northern Italy, and betrayed an ill-disguised hostility equally against France and Venice, the strict alliance thus fortunately established became important to the interests of both countries.

Henry, indeed, in more than one way, sought to replenish his coffers by coining the friendship of Venice into ready ducats. About the year 1590, we are told, there appeared a most eminent alchemist, a Cypriote, named Marco Bragadino, who obtained so great renown for the transmutation of mercury into the very finest gold, that he was sought for by all the leading potentates of Europe. He preferred Venice to his other suitors, and he was received with much complacency and distinction by the signory; was housed in a noble mansion, and visited by the most wealthy and honourable persons, not only of that city, but of all Italy, and even by princes themselves. His mode of living was attended with great and almost regal magnificence; he assumed the title of *Illustrissimo*, and he was universally es-

* These respective interchanges of kindness are noticed in the *Lettres d'Ossat*, iii. 137, L. 149, iv. 463, L. 282; by Maurocenus, *Hist. Ven.* lib. xv. *ad fin.*; and by Bayle, *ad v. Hadrien. Rem. H.*

teemed of rare and singular merit, and a genuine possessor of the veritable elixir. An artist of pretensions thus lofty readily gained the ear of a needy sovereign, and Henry accordingly addressed an invitation to him through his ambassador. The despatch to the envoy within which the king enclosed this gracious summons, exhibits an amusing struggle between the very natural desire that Bragadino's reported powers might be true, and the conviction produced by good sense that they must be altogether false. "He has been represented to me," are Henry's words, "as possessor of that secret, in pursuit of which so many adepts have exhausted their lives and their substance; and I am assured that he is also full of good-will to my service. There can be no harm, therefore, in disposing him to come to me. *Not that I believe all I have been told of his science; but that being thoroughly determined, as I am, not to be cheated, I should be very sorry if there were any impediment against his coming.*"* The ambassador, with more caution than his master, kept back this letter intrusted to him, and the event proved that his suspicions of roguery were well founded; for, after a time, continues Doghioni, from whom we borrow the anecdote,† it so happened that Bragadino, being deserted by his acquaintance, and recognised in his true character, after a short retigement to Padua, betook himself to Bavaria; thinking that, like many others who had gone there before him, he might easily beguile the reigning duke. God, however, who is not willing that frauds should remain always undiscovered, revealed his imposture; and either through fear of torture, or from remorse of conscience, thinking it time to give over his sins, the hypocrite confessed that what he appeared to do was not really done, but was a mere deception of sight—*una pura fascinazione*,—on which account the duke ordered him to be beheaded, and two dogs, who always accompanied him in golden collars, to be shot at the same time;‡ it being the opinion of some that those dogs were no other than fiends, of whose service he had obtained mastery, and whom he employed as familiars to

* MS. Letter from Henry IV. to M. de Malme, 7 March, 1590, cited by Daru, lib. xxviii. v. iv. p. 215.

† Lib. xviii. p. 977.

‡ Mr. Rogers, who has made very spirited use of Bragadino (*Italy, St. Mark's Place*), deprives him of his shadow. Such, no doubt, is one

cheat the bystanders' eyes while he exhibited his projection and sleight of hand.

The aid of France was a tower of strength to Venice in the memorable contest which she sustained with the papacy at the commencement of the seventeenth century. In 1605 the triple crown devolved upon a pope, who, in his estimate of the illimitable extent of pontifical authority, was scarcely surpassed by Hildebrand himself; and the accession of Camillo Borghese, as Paul V., spread the flames of ecclesiastical controversy through every court which acknowledged the sway of Rome. The barriers which Venice throughout her history had maintained with so unbending a firmness against the despotism of the Vatican, could not but be grievously offensive to a priest affecting unbounded and universal dominion; and long before the conclave had elected Borghese to the tiara, his jealousy of resistance had manifested itself by a declaration to Leonardo Donato, the Venetian ambassador, that if he were pope, and the republic gave him cause of discontent, he would lose no time in negotiation, but would launch an interdict at once. "And if I were doge," was the intrepid and uncompromising answer, "I would treat your anathemas with contempt." Rarely, indeed, have the course of events and the power of circumstances led two parties to a more precise fulfilment on both sides of hypothetical intentions.

Numerous petty causes conspired at this time to increase the want of complacency with which the holy see was ever disposed to regard Venice. Two recent edicts, both founded on a wise domestic policy, appeared to extinguish every hope of increasing the papal influence in this most refractory state; and each, therefore, was bitterly resented. By one, it was forbidden that any new church should be erected in the city without express permission from government; and the existence of two hundred religious houses, occupying half the extent of a capital against the enlargement of whose circuit nature had planted insurmountable obstacles, might be justly pleaded in defence of this self-preserving ordinance. By another decree, resting on the principle of our own statute of mortmain, any fresh endowment of

of the legitimate privileges of a wizard, especially if he has studied at Padua (as we know from Michael Scott), but in the present instance it is not so written down by the original authority.

ecclesiastical establishments was prohibited ; a fiscal regulation frequently before promulgated in Venice, not unusual in other countries, sanctioned by the similar act of a former pope, Clement VII., in order to check the lavish and extravagant donations to the *Casa* of Loretto, and essential to the very existence of revenue in any government under which ecclesiastics claim exemption from taxes.

While Paul regarded these enactments with an evil eye, his indignation was swelled beyond control by an exercise of civil authority which he affected to consider a direct inroad upon the power of the keys. Sarraceno, a canon of Vicenza, not yet admitted to full orders, being unsuccessful in a base attempt upon the virtue of a lady of honour, his near relative, avenged himself by a flagrant and unmanly outrage on decency. The fact was proved beyond doubt before the Ten ; and evidence being adduced that the same offender had also broken the seals which closed the chancery of his diocese, during the vacancy of the see, the council issued an order for his imprisonment. A far more detestable malefactor was found in the person of Bernardo Valdemarino, Abbot of Nervesa. Scarcely an atrocity which can pollute manhood had escaped commission by that most wretched criminal. Extortion, cruelty, and general dissoluteness of principles and habits seemed but foibles in one who was accused of sorcery, and convicted of frequent poisonings among the brotherhood of his cloister, of parricide, of incest, and of the subsequent murder of the unhappy sister whom he had violated. It was to reclaim these two prisoners from the hands of justice that the pope, in the first instance, angrily and haughtily appealed to the Venetian ambassador ; and when he found the senate inflexible, that he issued briefs denouncing the uttermost spiritual penalties if they persisted in contumacy.

Before the nuncio could present those briefs, the death of Grimani* vacated the ducal throne ; yet in spite of a declaration from Paul that any election under his present displeasure would be void, the council proceeded to ballot, and

* According to Palatius, the papal legate accelerated the death of this prince by thundering menaces of spiritual vengeance over his sick couch. "Grimanus Princeps morbo confectus agebat animam, Legatus Romanus Horatius Mattheus detonuit horribili voce, quæ cum ad aures decumbentis intonuit, oppressit."—*Fasti Ducales*, p. 239

their choice fell upon LEONARDO DONATO, "a wise and resolute man," as he is characterized by Sir Henry Wotton, and as he soon evinced himself to be ; and the very noble who some years before had avowed his scorn of papal intemperance. An omen, we are told, was drawn from an accident which occurred while the workmen of the arsenal were chairing their new sovereign round the *piazza* ; some idle boys, after pelting their playmates with snowballs, began to throw stones, with one of which a flag-staff in front of the palace, bearing the standard of the republic, was shattered and broken. How, it was whispered, can a reign thus commencing be otherwise than stormy !* The first act of Donato referred the papal demands to a synod of doctors in the University of Padua ; assisted by Fra Paolo Sarpi, one of the greatest names of which Venice ever boasted, the most judicious theologian, and the most profound canonist and civilian of his own, or perhaps of any other times. The unanimous decision of one hundred and fifty voices in that assembly approved a respectful opposition to the holy see ; and Paul, summoning a conclave on the receipt of that intelligence, prepared, ratified, and promulgated a bull of interdict. How fearfully such an instrument operated on men's minds in the early part of the fourteenth century, and how grievous were the pains it inflicted, we have already sufficiently explained when relating the similar rupture between Venice and Clement V. in 1309.† The lapse of three hundred years, however, as the sequel will evince, had deprived that once fatal weapon of its original force and keenness, and had so far weakened the arm by which it was hurled, that its point dropped feebly, and without power to wound, upon the mark at which it was aimed.

The senate met this act of injudicious violence calmly but energetically ; they recalled their ambassador from Rome ; they ordered their clergy to surrender, with the seals unbroken, whatever despatches might be forwarded to them from the Vatican ; they proclaimed that it was the duty of all good citizens to deliver up such copies of the bull as might fall into their hands ; and they issued a protest declar-

* Maurocenus, lib. xvii. p. 331. The English reader will remember that during the night after Charles I. erected his standard at Nottingham, it was blown down by a hurricane.

† Vol. I. p. 167.

ing the interdict to be null and void, and forbidding their ecclesiastics to obey it. The nuncio, before quitting the city, had the mortification of reading this protest affixed to the gates of his own palace; and he departed with a fearful menace ringing in his ears from the lips of the doge, that the republic might perhaps follow the example recently offered by several other states, and withdraw herself altogether from connexion with the holy see. The conduct of the representatives of some of the chief foreign powers encouraged the resolution of the senate; in Rome, the French and Tuscan ambassadors on the issue of the bull paid a marked visit of ceremony to their Venetian brother; and when the doge communicated with Sir Henry Wotton, the English resident at Venice, that good and wise minister replied, that "he could not understand this Romish theology, which was contrary to all justice and honour." James I. indeed, who loved nothing better than an opportunity of displaying his skill in controversial divinity and ecclesiastical law, manifested the warmest interest in behalf of the republic; expressing a strong desire for a general council, through which he thought God might produce happiness out of the present turmoil; and adding that he had proposed such an assembly to Clement V., when that pope congratulated him on his accession; but that the suggestion, to his no small astonishment, had been rejected;* an issue which may be less surprising to readers of the present day than it appears to have been to the scholastic and disputatious monarch.

The clergy, for the most part, promised ready obedience to the magistrates. One prelate, the Grand Vicar of Padua, more sturdy than his brethren, replied that he would act as the Holy Spirit should prompt him; and he was assured, with greater wit than reverence, that the Holy Spirit had already prompted the Ten to hang up the refractory. The Jesuits, desirous to keep well with both parties, resorted to their usual casuistry, and intrenched themselves behind a subtle distinction. "We have promised," they said, "to celebrate divine services, and we will observe our promise; but as for mass, *that* is a different matter, which our conscience and our vowed obedience to the pope will by no

* Hist. delle cose passate tra 'l Sommo Pont. Pio V. e la Rep. di Venezia (by Fra Paolo).

means allow us to administer against the prohibition of his holiness." Such half measures little accorded with the vigorous determination of the senate, and in the very same hour they ordered the recusants to quit the city and territories of the republic. Willing to possess the consolation of companionship in exile, the Jesuits forthwith sent deputies to the Capucins; representing that the whole world had fixed its eyes on the order of St. Francis, and that *their* decision would establish a general rule of conduct for others. The simplicity of the good fathers was not proof against words so honeyed; and proud of having the eyes of the whole world fixed upon them, they closed their churches, and were consequently included in the sentence of banishment and confiscation. The latter penalty afforded no small gain, perhaps no small allurement, to the signory; for a revenue of thirty thousand ducats accrued to the public coffers from the property of the Jesuits only, even within the boundaries of the city. Not without a hope of exciting popular feeling in their behalf, each of the disciples of Ignatius, as the general body marched for embarkation, suspended a holy wafer round his neck, in token that Christ was departing together with him; and on arrival at the quay, each knelt before the vicar of the patriarch, and implored his blessing. This false humility was estimated at its due value; the dislike with which the citizens in general regarded these wily meddlers had rendered an escort necessary for their protection; and in spite of these guards, as the fathers stepped on board the galleys prepared for their transportation, their farewell was delivered in portentous shouts of "*An date in mal' hora!*"*

It would be tedious to follow the remainder of this celebrated quarrel through its several stages. The pope threatened to cite the doge before the Inquisition, which should condemn him as a heretic, and he published a jubilee in order that he might expressly exclude Venice from its benefits.† The Jesuits continued to maintain secret corres-

* The popular indignation against the Jesuits was much increased when a number of crucibles were said to have been found among their effects after their departure; an infallible proof, as was affirmed, of their addiction to the forbidden mysteries of alchymy. Their advocates pleaded that the supposed crucibles were, in fact, earthen moulds which the fathers employed to keep their cowls in shape.—Laugier, vol. x. p. 391.

† Maurocenus, lib. xvii. p. 351.

pondence with the *dogado* ; and by their mischievous influence, chiefly over women, in many instances they kindled family dissensions, and poisoned domestic happiness, by arraying members of the same house against each other, for the love, as they averred, of God. Numerous controversialists entered the lists on either side ; and "in Venice," says Izaak Walton, in his admirable *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, "every man that had a pleasant and scoffing wit might safely vent it against the pope, either by free speaking or by libels in print, and both became very pleasant to the people." But of the many writings which issued on this occasion from pens of great theological distinction in their own times, and not yet forgotten by posterity,—from Bellarmine, Colonna, and Baronius, among others, on the papal side ; from Fra Paolo, Fulgentius, and, as Morosini informs us, from some poets also,* on that of Venice,—it may be doubted whether more than the titles are now explored even by the most ardent curiosity. The same gathered by an author "in his generation" rarely affords a certain promise of that which is to be the future harvest of "all time."†

That obedience which spiritual weapons failed to win it was now thought might be obtained by a show of secular war ; and the pope, encouraged by assurances of most powerful support from Spain, armed such forces as his scanty means permitted, and withdrew the treasures of the *Casa Santa* of Loretto to a place of securer deposite. These demonstrations were met by Venice with far more than corresponding vigour. In order to animate the populace, the doge, upon appointing an admiral of the fleet, proceeded to the arsenal ; from which establishment soldiers lined the way on either side to the mint. One million five hundred thousand ducats, brought from the treasury, were spread upon a table before the prince ; round that table and the arcades of the portico was stretched a chain of solid

* Lib. xvii. p. 347.

† A bulky quarto is now lying before us containing fourteen contemporary tracts in defence of the interdict ; some of them by the three above-mentioned champions of Paul ; others by more obscure authors, a bishop of Treviso, two Carmelites, two Franciscans, a Roman advocate, a Cypriote, a doctor of both civil and canon law, and two untitled pamphleteers. It is plain, from the great neatness with which some former possessor has written and inserted a MS. table of contents, that this volume has *once* been highly treasured and diligently searched.

gold one hundred feet in length ; and from the vast and glittering heap before him Donato distributed their pay to the mariners.* No doubt could exist that France would take the field in behalf of the republic, if the Spanish monarch ventured upon actual hostility ; and the King of England declared, through Wotton, that he would use all his endeavours to consolidate a league in favour of Venice, and would assist her by sea and land, with men and money ; not from enmity against the pope, but from regard for the general independence of sovereigns. But the court of Madrid had little thoughts of forwarding those lofty pretensions of the Vatican which might possibly at some future time be urged against herself ; and the sole object of Philip III., in thus apparently espousing the cause of Rome, was to secure to himself the honourable office of mediation which France also had already claimed. The envoys of each cabinet pressed their services upon Paul, who now, convinced both of his own weakness, and of the hollow faith of his ally, sought escape from the embroilment in which he had rashly involved himself ; and either justly resenting the delusive promises with which Philip had amused his credulity, or believing that the negotiation of Henry IV. would be more acceptable to Venice, he in the end intrusted that prince with the conduct of the reconciliation.

In the first instance, Paul vaguely demanded just satisfaction ; but it was by no means easy to decide what satisfaction he would consider to be just. His claims were then reduced to form ; and they comprised the release of the two ecclesiastics, and their delivery to the King of France ; submission to the interdict for four or five days ; the appointment of a day on which the spiritual censures should be solemnly abrogated ; the restoration of the expelled monks ; and the suspension of the laws affecting ecclesiastical property and foundations. All these demands, excepting the first, were rejected ; the senate moreover refused to ask for the annulment of the interdict ; insisted that its revocation should take place, not at Rome, but at

* Maurocenus, lib. xvii. p. 373. Daru (vol. iv. lib. xxxii. p. 547) relates a similar incident during a petty war in the Valteline, in 1690, and cites Vittorio Siri (l. 407) as his authority. The occurrence, doubtless, might be repeated, but Siri, as we have stated elsewhere, is not always trustworthy.

Venice; and, in order to avoid the possibility of a false record of any proffered atonement, that the process should be conducted verbally and not in writing. The spirit of Paul was effectually broken by opposition; and two slight attempts at modification which the Cardinal de Joyeuse, ambassador extraordinary from France, made in his behalf, were, like their predecessors, proposed with feebleness and abandoned with resignation. He first asked that an embassy should be despatched to Rome; secondly, that the doge and signory, after attending mass at St. Mark's, should receive a benediction, to be deemed equivalent to a formal remission of the censures. It was answered that such an embassy might be interpreted a solicitation, and such a benediction an absolution; consequently, that neither could

be admitted. At length, on the 21st of April, a
 A. D. secretary of the senate delivered the Canon of Vi-
 1607. cenza and the Abbot of Nervesa to the French ordinary resident, in the presence of the Cardinal de Joyeuse; protesting at the same time that this surrender was made only in deference to his Christian majesty, and was not to be considered any abandonment of the exclusive rights claimed by the republic over her own ecclesiastics. The prisoners were transferred by the French ambassador to a papal commissioner, who in turn recommended them to the custody of the officer of the Ten by whom they had first been introduced. After this formality, the cardinal, accompanied by the ambassador, proceeded to the *Collegio*, whose members received him sitting and covered; and *congratulated them on the removal of the interdict*;^{*} upon which announcement the doge handed to him a revocation of the protest addressed to all the Venetian clergy. The cardinal then celebrated mass, but not in St. Mark's, and not accompanied by the signory, who expressly prohibited all demonstrations of popular joy. Thus, after a contest which had interested, excited, and astonished all Christendom for more than twelve months, St. Mark, as Houssaye has delivered himself,[†] signally triumphed over St. Peter.

The evil spirit of the papacy was strongly exhibited,

^{*} So nicely were the forms arranged, that the cardinal made this announcement *standing*, and then concluded his very short speech *sitting*.—Maurocenus, lib. xvii. p. 390.

[†] Note on Lettres de Card. d'Ossat. vol. iv. p. 533. L. 290.

however, more than once, by some events which succeeded this remarkable schism. Much pains were taken to propagate a belief that the Cardinal de Joyeuse had absolved the signory; and it was carefully reported, that in order to effect that purpose, he had condescended to the swindling trick of making a sign of the cross with one hand under his cloak, upon entering the council chamber; thus benevolently conferring remission of sins upon ignorant and involuntary recipients. Before the close of the year, an opportunity occurred also of exercising a petty revenge, which Paul had not sufficient magnanimity to resist. His predecessor had established a right of examining every patriarch of Venice on his appointment; and a vacancy having occurred and having been filled up, the pope summoned the new patriarch to Rome, and committed him to a *Jesuit* for examination.*

But the resentment of the Vatican by no means confined itself to those acts of unworthy spitefulness; far blacker atrocities were meditated and attempted. During a visit which Scioppius, one of the most learned and far the most impudent† man of his time, paid to Venice, he informed Fra Paolo that he knew by certain advice how much the court of Rome desired either his arrest or his assassination; at the same time warning him that popes have long arms. Fra Paolo's reply, to say the least of it, was singular, and has been remarked by his biographers scarcely so much as it deserves. After stating that he had only defended a just cause, and therefore that the pontiff ought not to feel offended; that he was specially included in the public accommodation, and therefore that he could not mistrust the word of a sovereign; he spoke of assassination on

* Daru, lib. xxix. ad. fin., who cites *Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri*, tomo i. Some particulars of the dispute with Clement VIII., relative to the examination of the patriarch, may be found in *Lettres d'Ossat*, vol. iv. p. 502, 545. L. 286, 290.

† Scioppius was the person who denounced Sir Henry Wotton for his well-known jocular definition of an ambassador,—"that he is an honest man, sent to *lye* abroad for the good of the commonwealth." Sir Henry revenged himself in very sound, vituperative Latin, calling Scioppius, among other hard and true names, "*famelicus transfuga, et Romanæ Curis lutulentus circulator, qui scriptitat solum ut prandere possit; semioctus Grammaticaster; vespillonis et castrensis scortil apama;*" and adding that he had it in his power "*sexcentas id genus Scioppietates proferre, sed hoc esset ruspari sterquilinum.*"

political grounds, as being rarely directed against the life of a private individual, and of death as an event for which he was fully prepared. "If, however," he continued, "they should think to take me alive and carry me off to Rome, not all the power of the pope can hinder a man from being more master of himself than others can be; so that my life will be more in my own keeping than in that of the pontiff."* Scioppius was not deceived; in the October after the annulment of the interdict, Fra Paolo, returning late one evening to the Convent dei Serviti, his residence as official *teologo* of the republic, was attacked on the neighbouring bridge of Sta. Fosca by five braves; some of whom kept watch while the others executed their bloody commission. Fifteen stabs were aimed at him, of which only three took effect; two in the neck, one in the cheek close to the nose, where the stiletto was turned aside by the bone, and left in the wound. The assassins were seen to fly to a gondola in waiting, which conveyed them to the palace of the nuncio; and on the same night they passed over to Lido, and proceeded in a well-armed ten-oared vessel in the direction of Ravenna. No sooner had the report of the attempted murder and the asylum of its perpetrators spread abroad, than the palace of the nuncio was surrounded by throngs denouncing vengeance; and the person of the minister became so much endangered as to require the protection of a guard from the Ten. The plot was afterward traced to its chief agent; a broken Venetian merchant, who, flying from his creditors, had found security in Rome, where he ingratiated himself with the Borghesi so far as to express to his correspondents extravagant hopes of reviving fortune, and even of the probable attainment of a cardinal's hat. Fra Paolo's recovery was long doubtful; his frame, attenuated by habitual abstemiousness, could ill endure great loss of blood; and the number of physicians to whose charge public anxiety had committed him, contributed, as his biographer sarcastically relates, to retard his progress.† For twenty days he continued with-

* Vita del Padre Paolo, a Leida, 1646, p. 152. Bayle (St. Cyrán, Rem. B.) is the only writer by whom we remember to have seen this very striking avowal noticed.

† "S' agghionse ancora un' altra accidentale gravezza al male ch' era reale, la moltiplichá de' Medici, ch' é un male proprio de Grandi."—Vite del Padre Paolo. 169.

out power of motion, and the blackness of the edges of his wounds excited a fear that the daggers had been poisoned; an apprehension which increased the acuteness of his sufferings, on account of the severe remedies which it rendered necessary for counteraction. Nevertheless, throughout his lingering confinement, he preserved an equable and cheerful temper, resigning himself to God's will, deprecating inquiry after the assassins,* and even drawing smiles from his attendants by occasional pleasantry. Once, on some remark offered by the surgeon in waiting on the raggedness of the wounds, he replied that they ought not to exhibit such appearances, since the world said they had been dexterously given *Stilo Romanæ Curia*. The poniard left by the assassin was placed, after Fra Paolo's recovery, at the foot of a crucifix in the Church dei Servi, where it long remained at the altar of Sta. Maddalena, with a commemorative inscription *Dei Filio Liberatori*.†

The close alliance which we have seen existing between Venice and England during the recent transactions ran some hazard of interruption shortly afterward, from a literary misunderstanding. When James I. reprinted his *Apology* for the oath of allegiance which it had become necessary to require after the detection of the popish plot, and addressed its celebrated preamble "to all Christian monarchs, free princes, and states," envoys were despatched to present this volume, more worthy of the cloister than of the cabinet, to the chief courts of Europe; by which it was refused, neglected, or ridiculed, according to the temper of their respective sovereigns. The senate, A. D. 1609. wishing to keep well no less with the King of England than with the pope, in a controversy to which in truth they attached very little interest, decreed that the royal gift should be accepted as a token of amity; should be committed to the keeping of the chief secretary; be preserved in a chest under lock and key; and be neither exhibited nor removed without express permission of the public authorities. Sir Henry Wotton,‡ however, little contented

* On a report that they had been taken, he expressed great displeasure: "Pórtiano manifestare qualche cosa che desse scandolo al mondo e nocumento alla religione."—*Vita del Padre Paolo*, p. 170.

† *Id.* p. 169, 171.

‡ *Enrico Uttonio*, as the name is smoothly Italianized by Diado in his account of this transaction. *Tom. ii. lib. xiv.*

with the mysterious veneration thus paid to the fruit of his master's brains, protested with great vehemence and anger against the double-dealing which received the work with one hand and rejected it with the other; noticing very justly that while the defence of the King of England was prohibited, printed attacks upon him obtained free circulation. He concluded by announcing, that in consequence of this affront, he should consider his mission at an end; and that henceforward, so long as he remained in the capital, he must be treated only as a private individual. This fierce remonstrance called forth an especial embassy of excuse to England, and a diligent suppression of all tracts offensive to the royal author. James is said to have received both these notifications with marks of approval, and from a portion of Winwood's correspondence it appears that Wotton was considered to have been needlessly indignant; "which did very much trouble them here to make a cleanly answer thereunto for the salving of the ambassador's credit, who is censured to have prosecuted the matter to an overgreat extremity."*

We pass on to a war which occupied most of the reign of MARC' ANTONIO MEMMO; a war in which little honour was to be won, but which terminated usefully in the dispersion of a formidable race of pirates, who, during nearly a hundred years, had interrupted the navigation of the Adriatic. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, a horde of Dalmatians,† flying from either the tyranny or the justice of their rulers, or seeking shelter from continued Turkish invasions, found a secure asylum in the strong country bordering upon the coast near Spalatro; and finally established themselves in the town of Segna, under the protection of Austria, on condition of acting as an advanced guard against the sultan. Segna, placed in the recess of the Bay of Quarnero, is covered on the land side by a barrier of uncleared forests and mountains, traversed by rare and perplexed defiles; affording at

* Maurocenus, lib. xviii. p. 420. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 77.

† The Uskoks were originally Bulgars or Volokhs, who had become Slavonians on the subjugation of their country by the Greeks in 1019. They first settled in Clissa, then removed to Zara, and finally to Segna. — See concerning them more largely in Von Engel, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer*, ii. 188; and Adelung, *Mithridates*, ii. 642.

every step fit ambush for banditti, and at the same time being altogether impracticable for a regular armed force. On the coast, numerous intricate channels among reefs and islets, and a stormy and shallow sea, rendered the town inaccessible unless to boats of the lightest burden. It was believed, too, that at any time by lighting a fire in one particular cave, an offshore gale might be raised under which no vessel could live. The earth, said the credulous savages, heated and irritated in her veins by combustion, speaks her rage and agony in a hurricane.* The site, to use the metaphor of Nani, is framed for the grave of sailors, and the cradle of robbers.†

It is easily to be imagined how this lawless and ferocious band of exiles, accustomed to arms, separated from all ties of kindred and of country, and without means of agricultural employment, became freebooters by choice, if not altogether by necessity; and the transition by which the *Uscocchi* (so named from the Russian *uskakat*, to leap into, to run away, and signifying "fugitives") changed from robbers to pirates, is not without parallel among the *Bucaniers* of the New World in the following century. Their numbers rapidly increased by the influx of a mixed rabble of various countries, Turks, Austrians, Croats, Dalmatians, Venetians, and even English;‡ for Segna, on the principle of Romulus, was proclaimed a sanctuary for crime, and therefore readily became "the common sewer" of the proscribed from all nations. A population thus obtained was supported equally after the Roman manner; the unhappy women whom force had ravished from the neighbouring districts were considered the staple of the tribe; and each widow, on the loss of her husband by any of those countless hazards to which piratical life is exposed, was compelled to renew her matrimonial bonds so long as she continued to afford hope of progeny. So great, however, was the devastation resulting from habits in which every man's

* *Hist. des Uscoques*, p. 8, by Amelot de la Houssaye, from Minucci.

† *Hist. Venet. lib. i. p. 30.*

‡ *Le Général de mer a fait pendre fort légèrement ces neuf Anglois, dont il y en a trois qui sont gentils hommes de qualité, et un autre qui fut despendu se trouve de l'une des plus grandes maisons d'Angleterre.*—*Correspondance de Léon Bruslart* (the French ambassador at Venice). *Lettre du 14 Août 1616.* A MS. edited by Daru, lib. xxx. vol. iv. p. 363.

hand was raised against them, that it may be doubted whether at any period of their existence the *Uscocchi* ever exceeded one thousand men. The Turks for a long time were the greatest sufferers by their outrages, and it was idle for the divan to remonstrate with Venice, pillaged almost equally with itself; or with the court of Austria, which privately divided the spoil, and which occasionally stifled the murmurs of any more urgent complaint, by despatching a commissary to hang up a few miserable wretches, perhaps less guilty than their comrades; or who, even if selected from the most desperate and notorious of the band, left their bad eminence to be speedily occupied by numberless promising aspirants. "God keep you from the *Uscocchi*!" became a proverb at Constantinople, when any one wished his friend immunity from the worst of evils.

Whenever the Turks directed an expedition against these marauders, Venice also was seen to arm; but it was more to protect her own Dalmatic islands from possible invasion by the Mussulmans, than to assist in suppressing the pirates. Sometimes, indeed, an *Uscocck* vessel would strike to a Venetian galley, and there are instances in which seventeen and even sixty heads were forwarded to the signory, and exhibited to the populace as distinguished trophies, worthy of bearing part in the sumptuous pageant of the marriage of the Adriatic. "No one recollected," on one of these occasions writes Minucci, Archbishop of Zara, who has composed a history of the *Uscocchi*, "to have seen so many heads at a time; they made a most agreeable spectacle, and did infinite honour to the conquerors." Irritated by some fresh violence, the Venetians at length blockaded the mouth of the Bay of Quarnero; and the pirates, A. D. driven inland for sustenance, pillaged, under the 1600. Austrian standard, that district of Istria which belonged to the republic. So direct an outrage upon the territory of an ally compelled the Austrian government, if it would avoid a war, to measures of unusual severity; and Rabata, a high counsellor of state in Carniola, was deputed to chastise the offenders to the full satisfaction of Venice.

Among the chiefs upon whom he first inflicted summary punishment, we hear with surprise of a Count of Possidaria, who had disgraced his high descent by assuming a command among these outcasts. Another ruffian, who attempted de-

fence, and who was cut to pieces, had recently crowned a series of unheard-of cruelties by fastening under hatches the crew of a frigate captured from the Count of Zara, and then sending them adrift. The battlements of Segna were studded with the heads of these and other principal malefactors; most of the remainder were dispersed, and concealed themselves in the neighbouring fastnesses; and one hundred only of the least guilty were permitted to occupy the town. But no sooner were the troops withdrawn under whose protection this tardy justice had been executed, than the pirates returned, drunk with fury and thirsting for revenge, massacred Rabata with circumstances of the most savage barbarity, and reoccupied Segna as their own domain. This success, and the impunity with which it was permitted to be enjoyed, naturally increased the daring of the *Uscocchi*. At various times in following years, they plundered the Venetian islands off their coast; captured a galley charged with government despatches and a large freight of treasure; made an attempt upon Pola; and even carried off a *provveditore*, whom, exhausted by terror and fatigue, they transported from cave to cave, and from mountain to mountain, till an Austrian detachment tracked and delivered him.*

It was by no means easy to determine how much of this piracy was tolerated, if not favoured, by Austria; how much was committed in spite of her control. The wives and daughters of nobles holding high rank in her court were said to be decorated with plundered Venetian jewels, and a misintelligence between the two governments, the necessary result of suspicion, was brought to its height by a greater

* Among many sickening circumstances of horror, Fra Paolo, in his continuation of Minucci's *History*, mentions one most ludicrous incident. A merchant-vessel, bound for the *Lagune*, having been captured by the *Uscocchi*, was carried to Segna for a division of the spoil; when, to the no small discomfiture of the pirates, it was found to consist chiefly of honey, and many cases of a substance unknown to them, but which, from its appearance and sweet taste, they believed to be some species of those choice confectionaries for which Venice was celebrated. This sweetmeat, accordingly, they devoured most voraciously, both to compensate their disappointment, and also to gratify their appetite. The consternation of the physicians of Segna may be imagined when, upon examining the remaining contents of the boxes, they discovered them to be—*manna*.

atrocities than any yet offered to the flag of St. Mark. A galley, commanded by Cristoforo Veniero, was surprised and captured by a greatly superior force; and the crew, being made to pass, one by one, from their own vessel to the pirates' boats, were massacred in cold blood, and their bodies thrown into the sea. The captain himself was reserved till they gained land, and then his head, having been struck from his body, under the eyes of some ladies of rank, his passengers, was placed on the table at which his murderers took their repast. During that accursed banquet the cannibals roasted and divided their victim's heart; and dipping sops of bread in his yet warm blood, swallowed them with greedy delight. One of their superstitions, it appears, encouraged a belief that such general participation in the blood of an enemy was a sure pledge of mutual fidelity; and that all who shared in this inhuman orgy were henceforward linked indissolubly together in a common destiny. Having completed these fiend-like rites, they partitioned the booty, and mounted the cannon of the prize upon their ramparts.

Loud as were the demands for vengeance which intelligence of this most brutal outrage roused in Venice, the senate was at the time too much entangled by apprehensions of an open breach with Spain (in defence of the claim of their ally, the Duke of Savoy, to the principality of Mountferrat) to act with becoming vigour. To their remonstrances, the Governor of Segna answered by expressions of empty regret, lamenting that which he gently termed an *accident* and a *mistake*; and he demurred even as to the restoration of the prize, till he should receive further instructions from his court. In spite of the reluctance of the signory, negotiations thus contemptuous and unsatisfactory terminated, as may be supposed, in positive war; and a contest, inglorious and injurious to both parties, ensued between Venice and Austria in Friuli. Its incidents are little worth narration,* but one of them is too remarkable to be wholly omitted. The republic, more alarmed at the danger impending from Spain than at that which she absolutely encountered from the enemy against whom she

* They have been detailed in two books by Faustino Moisésson. Ven. 4to. 1623.

had taken the field, sought and found allies in Holland, the state most permanently hostile to the court of Madrid. In consequence of a treaty with that power, four thousand heretic troops engaged in the Venetian service, under Count John of Nassau, landed on the *Piazzetta*, and, with the concurrence of its rulers, during many days held military possession of their otherwise impregnable capital. But for the fidelity of her new friends, Venice, from that hour, might have sunk into a dependence of the United Provinces; and such in all human transactions is the occasional folly of the wise, that the most subtle, the most sagacious, the most wary, and the most enduring polity which has been known among mankind, might have sealed her own destruction, by an act of almost judicial blindness, two centuries before that epoch which afterward proved to be her fulness of time!

The despatch of that Dutch force to the seat of war, the consequent apprehension of losing Gradisca, one of the strongest Austrian frontier towns, which the Venetians had long besieged, and the ambitious views which the Archduke Ferdinand, already possessed of the crown of Bohemia, was directing upon that of the empire, inclined him to terminate a quarrel which, during three years, had wasted his resources without a chance of benefit. France, by her mediation, first adjusted the dispute between Spain and the Duke of Savoy, to whom the signory had furnished both troops and subsidies; and she then reconciled Venice with Austria, by a treaty ratified at Madrid; the most important terms of which stipulated the final dispersion of the *Uscocchi*, and the destruction of their flotilla. Thus terminated the existence of a horde of pirates which could have been protracted so long only by the duplicity of Austria; and which had cost Venice, during the last thirty years,—in her own commercial losses, in indemnities paid to the Turks for depredations in the gulf which she affected to protect, and lastly, in expenses of actual war,—no less than twenty millions of gold.

Sept. 16.
1617.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM A. D. 1618 TO A. D. 1669.

Conspiracy of 1618—Sentence of Foscari—Attack upon the Council
of Ten—Venetian Manners—War of Candia.

DOGES.

A. D.		
1618.	XCV.	NICOLO DONATO.
—	XCVI.	ANTONIO PRIULI.
1623.	XCVII.	FRANCESCO CONTARINI.
1625.	XCVIII.	GIOVANNI CORNARO.
1630.	XCIX.	NICOLO CONTARINI.
1632.	C.	FRANCESCO ERIZZO.
1645.	CI.	FRANCESCO MOLINO.
1655.	CII.	CARLO CONTARINI.
1656.	CIII.	FRANCESCO CORNARO.
—	CIV.	BERTUCCIO VALIERO.
1657.	CV.	GIOVANNI PEZARO.
1660.	CVI.	DOMINICO CONTARINI.

SIR HENRY WOTTON, who, notwithstanding his recent differences with the senate, still remained as English ambassador at Venice, has left an account of the elections of two successive doges, NICOLO DONATO and ANTONIO PRIULI, which occurred in 1618, within a month of each other: and from his details it appears, that in spite of the complicated intermixture of repeated ballotings and scrutinies, not less intrigue was employed in the disposal of the *beretta* than in that of the triple crown. In his dedicatory epistle,* Wotton writes also as follows, on the 25th of May, relative to A. D. 1618. the detection of a great conspiracy which at that time was bruited abroad. "The whole town is here at present in horror and confusion upon the discovering of a

* To a discourse entitled *The Election of the New Duke of Venice after the Death of Giovanni Bembo.*

fioul and fearful conspiracy of the French against this state ; whereof no less than thirty have already suffered very condign punishment, between men strangled in prison, drowned in the silence of the night, and hanged in public view ; and yet the bottom is invisible."

However meager may be this notice of an event perhaps more familiarly known by name to English readers than any other in the history of Venice, there are very few authentic particulars which can be added to Wotton's brief statement. Muratori indeed has scarcely exaggerated the obscurity in which this incident is enveloped when he affirms that only one fact illuminates its darkness ; namely, that several hundred French and Spaniards engaged in the service of the republic were arrested and put to death. The researches of Comte Daru have brought to light some hitherto unknown contemporary documents ; but even the inexhaustible diligence of that most laborious, accurate, and valuable writer has been baffled in the hope of obtaining certainty as its reward ; and he has been compelled to content himself with the addition of one hypothesis more to those already proposed in explanation of this mystery.

All that can be positively affirmed is, that during the summer of 1617, Jacques Pierre, a Norman by birth, whose youth had been spent in piratical enterprises in the Levantine seas, from which he had acquired no inconsiderable celebrity, fled from the service of the Spanish Duke d'Ossuna, Viceroy of Naples ; and having offered himself at the arsenal of Venice, was engaged there in a subordinate office. Not many days after his arrival in the *Lagune*, Pierre denounced to the inquisitors of state a conspiracy, projected, as he said, by the Duke d'Ossuna, and favoured by Don Alfonso della Cueva, Marquis de Bedemar,* at that time resident ambassador from Spain. The original minutes of Pierre's disclosures, written in French, still exist among the correspondence of M. Leon Bruslart, the contemporary

* To whom is attributed the authorship of the celebrated anonymous tract *Squittinio della Libertà Veneta* ; the first edition of which, with the exception of very few copies (one of which is now in the British Museum), was destroyed by order of the signory. It became so scarce in consequence, that seventy years afterward, when reprinted in Italian, the text was borrowed by retranslation from a French version by Amelot de la Houssaye. Accident has thrown into our possession a MS., fairly transcribed, of the first edition.

ambassador from the court of France to the republic ;* and they were translated into Italian, with which language Pierre was but imperfectly acquainted, by his friend Renault, in order that they might be presented to the inquisitors. In this plot Pierre avowed himself to be chief agent ; his pretended abandonment of the Duke d'Ossuna forming one part of the stratagem : and he added that his commission enjoined him to seduce the Dutch troops employed in the late war, who still remained in Venice and its neighbourhood ; to fire the city ; to seize and massacre the nobles ; to overthrow the existing government ; and ultimately to transfer the state to the Spanish crown. The sole immediate step taken by the inquisitors in consequence of these revelations was the secret execution of Spinosa, a Neapolitan, whom Pierre described as an emissary of the Duke d'Ossuna ; and whom he appears to have regarded with jealousy as a spy upon his own conduct. For the rest, the magistrates contented themselves, as it seems, by awaiting the maturity of the plot with silent vigilance. Ten months elapsed, during which Pierre communicated on the one hand with the Duke d'Ossuna, unsuspecting of his treachery, and on the other with the inquisitors ; till May, 1618. at the expiration of that term he was seized by an order of the Ten, while employed on his duties with the fleet, and drowned without the grant of sufficient delay even for previous religious confession. More, perhaps many more, than three hundred French and Spaniards engaged in various naval and military capacities were at the same time delivered to the executioner : and Renault, after undergoing numerous interrogatories, and being placed seven times on the cord, was hanged by one foot on a gibbet on the *Piazzetta*, which day after day presented similar exhibitions of horror.

This evidence of Pierre remained at the time concealed in the bosoms of the inquisitors to whom it had been delivered ; and no official declarations satisfied public curiosity as to the cause of the sanguinary executions which deformed the capital. A rumor indeed spread itself abroad,

* These papers, according to a despatch of M. Leon Bruniart, dated 19th July, 1618, *ont esté trouvés dedans un coffre de Jacques Pierre ;* and thus came into his hands. It is strange that they escaped the vigilance of the inquisition of state.

and, although not traced to any certain authority, was universally credited, that a great peril had been escaped ; that Venice had trembled on the very brink of destruction ; and that the Spaniards had meditated her ruin. Popular fury was accordingly directed against the Marquis de Bedemar ; and so fierce were the menaces of summary vengeance, that the ambassador was forced to protest his innocence before the *Collegio*, more in the spirit of one deprecating punishment than defying accusation. He then earnestly solicited protection against the rabble surrounding his palace ; for "God knows," affirmed his pale and affrighted secretary more than once, "the danger of our residence is great !" The vice-doge, who during the interregnum between the death of one chief magistrate and the election of another, presided over the *Collegio*, replied vaguely, coldly, and formally ; and, the application having been renewed without any more favourable result, Bedemar, justly apprehensive for his safety, seized a pretext of withdrawing till a successor to his embassy was appointed. Meantime, considerable doubts were entertained, not only by the resident foreign ministers,—especially by that of France, better informed than his brethren through the possession of Pierre's minutes,—but by the Venetian senators themselves also, whether any conspiracy whatever had really existed. Nevertheless, in spite of these misgivings not obscurely expressed, it was not till the expiration of five months that the Ten presented a report to the senate, detailing the information which they had received, and the views upon which they had acted. That report, however, is so manifestly contradicted in many very important instances by Pierre's depositions, that it must be considered as drawn up and garbled solely with the intention of *making a case* ; and therefore as revealing only so much truth, dashed and brewed with a huge proportion of falsehood, as it suited the interests of the magistrates to exhibit to public view. All mention of the denouncements of Pierre during the long period of ten months is carefully suppressed, and yet no fact in history is more distinctly proved than that he did so communicate. The first intimation of the plot is there said to have been given but a few days before it was to have been executed, by two Frenchmen, Montcassin and Balthazar Juven, whom Pierre had endeavoured to seduce

"Look at these Venetians," said the daring conspirator one day to his apparent proselytes, "they affect to chain the lion; but the lion sometimes devours his master, especially when that master uses him ill." According to their further evidence, some troops despatched by the Duke d'Ossuna were to land by night on the *Piazzetta*, and to occupy all the strongholds of the city; numerous treasonable agents already within the walls were to master the depôts of arms; and fire, rapine, and massacre were to bring the enterprise to consummation.

The papers above mentioned, together with a few letters from the doge to the Venetian ambassador at Milan, and one or two other not very important documents contained in the archives of Venice, all printed by Comte Daru, are the sole authentic vouchers for this conspiracy now known to exist; and it must be confessed that they are insufficient for its elucidation. The Abbé St. Real, who for a long time was esteemed the chief historian of this dark transaction, is an agreeable and attractive writer; but since he was unacquainted with the report of the Ten, since he does not cite the correspondence of the French ambassador containing Pierre's depositions, and since he frequently varies from a MS. which he does cite, *The Interrogatories of the Accused*,* a MS. indeed, which, even when quoted faithfully, is often contradicted by the few established facts, and by numerous well-known usages of the Venetian government, little faith can be attached to his narrative. It was his opinion, and it has been that which has most generally prevailed, that the Duke d'Ossuna, the Marquis de Bedemar, and Don Pedro di Toledo, Governor of Milan, mutually concerted a plan for the destruction of Venice, the chief execution of which was intrusted to Pierre and Renault: and that, on the very eve of its explosion, Jaffier, one of their band, touched by the magnificence of the espousals of the Adriatic which he had just witnessed, was shaken from his stern purpose, and revealed the conspiracy. In order to overthrow the latter part of this hypothesis, it may be sufficient to state that the first executions took place on the 14th of May, 1618, and that it was not till the

* A translation of this document is given by Daru: the original Italian may be found in the "*Memorie recondite*" of Vittorio Sirt, l. 407.

24th of that month that the feast of Ascension and its gorgeous ceremonies occurred in the same year.

Comte Daru, on the other hand, first explains a design which it is notorious was entertained by the Duke d'Ossuna to convert his viceroyalty of Naples into a kingdom, the crown of which, wrested from Spain, should be placed on his own head. And hence he establishes the impossibility that d'Ossuna should at the same moment be plotting the overthrow of Venice; that power whose assistance, or at least whose connivance, was one of the weapons most necessary for his success. On these grounds, Comte Daru contends that the duke maintained a secret understanding both with the signory and the court of France; that, refining on political duplicity, he deceived Pierre by really instructing him to gain over the Dutch troops quartered in the *Lagune*; not, however, as his emissary supposed, to be employed ultimately for the seizure of Venice, but in truth for that of Naples; that Pierre's courage was not proof against the dangers with which his apparently most hazardous commission beset him; and that accordingly he betrayed his employer, and revealed to the inquisitors a plot which *they* well knew to be feigned; and, lastly, that when the ambitious plans of Ossuna, partially discovered before their time by the Spanish government, might have compromised Venice also if they had been fully elucidated; in order to blot out each syllable of evidence which could bear, even indirectly, upon the transaction, so far as she was concerned, it was thought expedient to remove every individual who had been even unwittingly connected with it. So fully was this abominable wickedness perpetrated, that both the accused and the accusers, the deceivers and the deceived, those either faithless or faithful to their treason, the tools who either adhered to or who betrayed d'Ossuna, who sought to destroy or to preserve Venice, were alike enveloped in one common fate, and silenced in the same sure keeping of the grave. Some few, respecting whose degree of participation a slight doubt arose, were strangled, on the avowed principle that *all* must be put to death who were in any way implicated; others were drowned by night, in order that their execution might *make no noise*.*

* Laurent Brulard, concerning whose fate much discussion arose, was strangled par beaucoup de considérations et par une suite du parti qu'on

Moncassin, one of the avowed informers, was pensioned, spirited away to Cyprus, and there despatched in a drunken quarrel; and if it be asserted that his companion Balthazar Juven was permitted to survive, it is because he is the only individual concerning whose final destiny we cannot pronounce with certainty.*

Of one personage who holds an important station in St. Real's romance, and yet more so in Otway's coarse and boisterous tragedy, which, by dint of some powerful *coups de théâtre*, still maintains possession of the English stage, we have hitherto mentioned but the name; and, in fact, even for that name we are indebted only to the more than suspected summary of the *Interrogatories of the Accused*. Antoine Jaffier, a French captain, is there made chief evidence against Pierre and Renault, who are employed by d'Ossuna, as he vaguely states, to surprise *some* maritime place belonging to the republic. This informer was rewarded with four thousand sequins, and instructed forthwith to quit the Venetian territories; but having, while at Brescia, renewed communications with suspected persons, he was brought back to the *Lagune* and drowned. The minute particularities of Jaffier's depositions, and the motive which prompted him to offer them (the latter, as we have already shown, resting on a gross anachronism), are, we believe, pure inventions by St. Real; and Otway has used a poet's license to palliate still further deviations from authentic history. Under his hands, Pierre—whom all accounts conspire in representing to us as a foreign, vulgar, and mercenary bravo, equally false to every party, and frightened into confession—is transformed into a Venetian patriot, the proud champion of his country's liberty; who declaims in good set, round, customary terms against slavery and oppression; and who, in the end, escapes a mode of execution unknown to Venice, by persuading the

avait pris de mettre à mort tous ceux qui étaient impliqués dans cette affaire. The brothers Desbouleaux were drowned by night in the Canale Orfano, pour ne point ébruiter l'affaire; and the instructions sent to the admiral who was to drown Pierre were, to fulfil his commission avec le moins de bruit possible. Accordingly that ruffian and forty-five of his accomplices were drowned at once sans bruit.—*Interrogatoire des Accusés*, translated by Darn, vol. viii. § x.

* It is believed that Balthazar Juven, and a relation of the Marechal de Lesdiguières, who is stated to have escaped punishment, are one and the same person.

friend who has betrayed him, and whom he has consequently renounced, to stab him to the heart, in order "to preserve his memory." The weak, whining, vacillating, uxorious Jaffier, by turns a cut-throat and a king's-evidence; now pawning, now fondling, and now menacing with his dagger an imaginary wife; first placing his comrade's life in jeopardy, then begging it against his will, and finally taking it with his own hand, is a yet more unhappy creation of wayward fancy; and it is only in the names of the conspirators, in the introduction of an Englishman, Eliot (whom he has brought nearer vernacular spelling than he found him,—Hailot),* and in the character of Rainault, that Otway is borne out by authority. The last-mentioned person is described by the French ambassador as a sot, a gambler, and a sharper, whose rogueries are well known to all the world; in a word, therefore, as a fit leader of a revolutionary crew, wrought up, "without the least remorse, with fire and sword to exterminate" all who bore the stamp of nobility; and *not* as the most fitting depository in which Belvidera's honour might be lodged as a security for that of her irresolute husband.

Whatever hypothesis may be adopted, be this conspiracy true or false, there is no bloodier, probably no blacker page in history than that which records its development. Were it not for the immeasurable weight of guilt which must press upon the memory of the rulers of Venice if we suppose the plot to have been altogether fictitious, we should assuredly admit that the evidence greatly preponderates in favour of that assertion. But respect for human nature compels us to hesitate in admitting a charge so monstrous. Five months after the commencement of the executions either a tardy gratitude or a profane mockery was offered to Heaven; and the doge and nobles returned thanks for their great deliverance by a solemn service at St. Mark's.

In the dearth of matters of external interest, our attention is forcibly attracted to an attempt made by the Great Council, a few years after this conspiracy, to abridge the formidable authority of the Ten. That tribunal, long odious to the majority of nobles who cowered under its

* Nani, *lil.* p. 169 He was to have commanded the naval part of the enterprise.

despotism, had greatly lessened the *prestige* of infallibility to which it was mainly indebted for support, by the discovery of a most painful and irreparable error in one of its judgments. The encouragement of secret denunciations manifestly gives room for the exercise of most of the evil passions of our nature; and the *lions' mouths* under the arcade at the summit of the Giant's Stairs, which gaped widely to receive anonymous charges, were no doubt far more often employed as vehicles of private malice than of zeal for the public welfare. To that baneful mode of discovering offences the constitution of the Ten added a system of *espionage* unparalleled in fraudulence and mystery; and the trade of informers had become equally gainful, and their number equally great, with that of their detestable predecessors, the *delatores* of imperial Rome. It was easy for those hired trackers of crime, by banding together, to partition among themselves the separate characters of witnesses and of accusers; and no innocence could hope to escape the insidious chase if the cry were once up and the blood-hounds were slipped upon its footing. In 1662, Antonio Foscari, a *Cavaliere*,* and a senator, who had once filled the honourable office of ambassador to the court of France, and who appears also to have been intimately known to our own James I., was denounced to the inquisitors by two professed spies of mean condition and nearly connected with each other. He was accused of frequenting the Spanish minister's palace by night and in disguise; and the recent occurrences having rendered the envoy of that cabinet more obnoxious than any other to public jealousy, the charge, which if established would lead to no less than capital punishment, was greedily entertained. The stipulated reward was paid, the secretary of the ambassador was named as furnishing the information, and the inquisitors, without requiring the testimony of that principal and most important evidence, arrested Foscari. After a few private interrogatories, in which the single denial of the unhappy prisoner availed nothing against two concurring witnesses, he was strangled

* The title of *Cavaliere* was usually given to a noble on his return from an embassy.—Nani, lib. x. p. 561. He wore a golden star embroidered on his robe.

in his cell; and on the next day his body was suspended by one leg from a gallows in the *Piazzetta* from dawn till sunset. Whether as an additional mark of ignominy, or as an act of grace in order that he might be less easily recognised, his features were previously disfigured by being bruised on the pavement.

Success in this first villanous attempt increased the daring and the avidity of the informers, and a second noble was soon afterward accused of a similar crime. One of the inquisitors, however, more prudent or less obdurate than his coadjutors, now insisted on the examination of the Spanish secretary, who peremptorily disavowed all knowledge either of the spies or of the denounced senator. The conviction and condemnation of the informers which followed were soon publicly known; and the family of the murdered Foscarini, still bitterly smarting under the disgrace which not only affected the memory of the dead, but, according to the rigorous law of Venice, prevented his surviving kindred also from advancement in the state, petitioned that the criminals might be examined once more touching their deceased relative. It little accorded however with the policy of the Ten to run the hazard of revealing their incapacity by revising a former sentence; and the application was refused under a pretext that the false witnesses, being already convicted, were legally incompetent to give evidence. Nevertheless, before the execution of the malefactors ample and satisfactory confession was obtained from them through a priest, and was published by the injured family; so that the Ten, no longer able to resist their just importunity, issued a solemn exculpatory decree nearly nine months after the punishment of Foscarini, declaring that his innocence had been revealed by Divine Providence miraculously and through methods unimaginable by human wisdom. It might have been more accordant with truth if they had admitted with Bartolo,—a distinguished civilian, who earned in his own times the honourable titles of “The Star and Luminary of Law, and the Lantern of Equity,” and who was intimately acquainted with Venetian jurisprudence,*—that the decisions of their

* *Judicia Venetorum inter casus fortuitos reputanda.* We have chiefly followed Sir Henry Wotton in the sad story of Foscarini. He

tribunals were to be reckoned "among the accidents of fortune."

The sagacity of Wotton foresaw the results of this fatal exposure: "Surely," he says, "in three hundred and twelve years that the Decemviral Tribunal hath stood, there was never cast upon it a greater blemish, which is likely to breed no good consequence upon the whole." A private quarrel which agitated the capital a few years afterward contributed to realize this anticipation.

A. D. 1625. The family of GIOVANNI CORNARO, who then occupied the throne, had long cherished an hereditary feud against that of Zeno; the head of which noble house, Renieri, happened to fill the high office of one of the chiefs of the Ten. Using the privileges of that great authority for the gratification of private resentment, Zeno in numberless instances offered vexatious opposition to the doge,—seeking to deprive one of his sons of the enjoyment of the purple which he had just received from the Vatican, and to exclude another from his seat in the Great Council. In the former attempt he failed; for although the law forbade the acceptance from Rome of a *benefice* by any son of a reigning doge, the cardinal's hat did not appear to be included under that designation: but admittance to the council had been provided for no more than two sons of the prince, and Giorgio, therefore, as the third, was compelled to abandon a privilege afforded him only by courtesy. Fired with indignation at this affront, the hot-blooded youth waylaid Zeno with bravoos as he quitted the council-chamber of the Ten at night,* and left him for dead under their

professes to have made "research of the whole proceeding, that his majesty, to whom he (Foscarini) was so well known, may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example." It has been said that the sentence of this miserable victim either of haste or of malice was a voluntary error,—his crime being too great popularity; and Wotton certainly speaks of some probable "mixture of private passion." Vittorio Siri, upon whose single authority we should by no means rely, writes disparagingly of Foscarini's character; and adds, that his fate might have easily been anticipated (*Mem. recond.* v. 380). Even to that statement also Wotton is not altogether opposed; "perhaps some light humour to which the party was subject, together with the taint of his former imprisonment (an allusion which we are unable to explain), might precipitate the credulity of his judges."—*Reliq. Wotton*, p. 310.

* The *Collegio* and the Ten held their sittings at all hours indiscriminately, as occasion required. In the Grand Council the introduction of

stilettos. The wounded man however recovered, the attempted assassination was traced to its contriver, and his punishment was exile for life and the forfeiture of all privileges of nobility,—an inscription also, perpetuating the memory of his crime, was fixed on the spot of its commission. Not content with this signal triumph, Zeno persisted in displaying yet more than former virulence towards his rivals; and he inveighed even against a humane provision of the senate, permitting the doge to issue the decree which banished his son unaccompanied by the usual formality of his own superscription. Angry harangues in the *Collegio* and in the council won partisans to either side, and the whole body of patricians arrayed themselves in one or other of the factions; and in the end, when Zeno prepared to submit a revision of the ducal oath to the Great Council, and the Ten forbade the attempt, he disobeyed their injunction, provoked a tumultuous debate, at which many of the nobles attended with arms,* and so far interrupted by frequent and irregular clamours a temperate explanation which the doge was offering, that it became necessary to adjourn the sitting. The inquisitors visited this unwonted scandal with proportionate severity, and Zeno, who had once before been banished, was condemned to a second exile.

As the next stated season for the renewal of the Ten approached, this fresh undue exercise of power, as it was termed, was bitterly remembered by Zeno's numerous friends; and on proceeding to ballot not one of the candidates proposed obtained sufficient votes to render his election legal. The Ten were thus virtually extinguished. But so violent a change in their constitution justly alarmed those who understood and appreciated the infinite value of stability in government, who deprecated any reform, even of abuses, unless it were gradually introduced, and who foresaw in this first specious amendment a dreary perspective of boundless future revolutions.† By the exertions

lights was forbidden, so that the sittings of that body always terminated with sunset.

* In general no person was allowed to enter the council-chamber with any weapon; but adjoining it was a well-stored armoury which the nobles might employ in case of necessity.

† "De' più provetti Cittadini s' apprendevano i danni della novità sempre più pregiudiziale, quando sotto titolo di Riforma la mutazione s' in-

of this less extreme party a committee was appointed to review the functions of the obnoxious tribunal; and when they recommended that the Ten should no longer be permitted to interfere with the decrees of the Great Council, they at the same time declared that it was imperatively necessary for the safety of a state governed by an aristocracy, that some one supreme power should control the otherwise excessive license of its numerous rulers, and that the Council of Ten performed that duty most satisfactorily. Such a report was little calculated to satisfy a body already encouraging hopes that a tribunal which had long and heavily pressed upon their order was about to be abolished for ever, and stormy debates accordingly ensued. On the first day the council adjourned without coming to a decision; on the second, a vehement invective by a popular orator so far carried away the hearers that an annulment of Zeno's sentence was proposed by acclamation, and carried by an overwhelming majority. The recommendation of the committee would afterward have inevitably been rejected but for the calm eloquence of Batista Nani, still preserved to us in the pages of his nephew and namesake the historian. Never was a greater triumph won over personal feeling and private inclination than that which Nani here achieved. When he sat down, the resolutions of the committee were accepted and confirmed, their advocate himself was elected a chief of the Ten, and in the instrument which registered this dignity especially honourable mention was introduced of the great service which he had rendered to his country by preserving her from anarchy. Not long afterward also, so far as the patricians were concerned, the power of the Ten was increased; and in all criminal cases the members of the Grand Council were subjected to the cognizance of the smaller tribunal, instead of being, as hitherto, amenable, in common with the rest of their fellow-citizens, to the jurisdiction of the Forty. Grievous indeed was the yoke which the nobles thus consented to retain; but upon submission to that yoke depended the whole framework which bound together their sovereignty. The love of power prevailed, and they were

trude; tanto pessimo, che se non s' estingue da prima, guasta presto e corrode i meglio associati Governi."—Nani, vii. p. 400.

content to purchase entire despotism over others by the partial surrender of their own freedom.

Of the state of Venetian manners about the period to which we are now advancing, a few lively particulars have been transmitted to us by one of the most accomplished and observant of contemporary English travellers. Evelyn arrived at Venice in 1645, in sufficient time to witness the pomp of the marriage of the Adriatic: the gondolas appeared to him as so many water-coaches;* the *Canale Grande*, from the throng of nobles who took the air upon it, as resembling Hyde Park: the Exchange (*le fabbriche vecchie di Rialto*) "as nothing so magnificent as our own;" but of the street which led from it to St. Mark's he speaks with rapture. "Hence I passed through the *Merceria*, one of the most delicious streets in the world for the sweetness of it, and is all the way on both sides tapistred, as it were, with cloth of gold, rich damasks and other silks, which the shops expose and hang before their houses from the first floore, and with that variety that, for neere halfe the yeare spent chiefly in this citty, I hardly remember to have seene the same piece twice exposed; to this add the perfumes, apothecaries' shops, and innumerable cages of nightingales which they keepe, that entertaine you with their melody from shop to shop, so that shutting your eyes you would imagine yourselfe in the country, when indeede you are in the middle of the sea. It is almost as silent as the middle of a field, there being neither rattling of coaches nor trampling of horses. This streete, paved with brick, and exceedingly cleane, brought us through an arch, into the famous piazza of St. Marc."†

Evelyn's attention, however, appears to have been chiefly attracted by the singularity of costume. "It was now Ascension weeke, and the greate mart or faire of the whole yeare was kept, every body at liberty and jollie. The noblemen stalking with their ladies on *choppines*; these are

* Evelyn some years afterward likewise, in 1662, speaks of 'gondolas with no great respect: "I saw the rich gondola sent to his majesty by the state of Venice, but it was not comparable for swiftness to our common wherries, though rowed by Venetians."—*Memoirs*, ii. 191. Co-ryat (*Crudities*, 160) has given a bad character of the gondoliers plying at the Rialto. A pleasant description of the modern gondola may be found in Mr. Rose's *Letters*, i. 272.

† *Memoirs*, ii. 313.

high-heeled shoes, particularly affected by these proude dames, or, as some say, invented to keepe them at home, it being very difficult to walke with them; whence one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied, they were *mezzo carne, mezzo ligno*, half-flesh, half-wood, and he would have none of them. The truth is, their garb is very odd, as seeming allwayes in masquerade; their other habits also totally different from all nations. They weare very long crisped haire, of severall strakes and colours, which they make so by a wash, dischevelling it on the brims of a broad hat that has no crowne, but an hole to put out their heads by; they drie them in the sunn as one may see them at their windows.* In their tire they set silk flowers and sparkling stones, their petticoates coming from their very arme-pits, so that they are neere three-quarters and an half apron; their sleeves are made exceedingly wide, under which their shift sleeves as wide, and commonly tucked up to the shoulder, shewing their naked armes through false sleeves of tiffany, girt with a bracelet or two, with knots of points richly tagged about their shoulders and other places of their body, which they usually cover with a kind of yellow vaile of lawn very transparent. Thus attired, they set their hands on the heads of two matron-like servants or old women, to support them, who are mumbling their beades. 'Tis ridiculous to see how these ladies crawl in and out of their gondolas by reason of their *choppines*, and what dwarfs they appeare when taken down from their wooden scaffolds; of these I saw thirty near together, stalking halfe as high againe as the rest of the world; for courtezans or the citizens may not weare *choppines*, but cover their bodies and faces with a vaile of a certaine glittering taffeta or lustrée, out of which they now and then dart a glaunce of their eye, the whole face being otherwise entirely hid with it: nor may the common misses take this habit, but go abroad barefac'd. To the corners of these virgin-vailes hang broad but flat tossells of curious Point de Venize. The married women go in black vailes. The Nobility weare the same colour, but of fine cloth lin'd with taffeta in summer, with fur of the bellies of squirrels in the

* At the close of this chapter will be found a cut from Titian, representing a Venetian lady under this operation—in one corner stand her *choppines*.

winter, which all put on at a certaine day, girt with a girdle emboss'd with silver; the vest not much different from what our Bachelors of Arts weare in Oxford, with a hood of cloth made like a sack cast over their left shoulder, and a round cloth black cap fring'd with wool, which is not so comely; they also weare their collar open, to shew the diamond button of the stock of their shirt. I have never seene pearle for colour and bignesse comparable to what the ladys weare, most of the noble families being very rich in jewells, especialy pearles, which are always left to the son or brother who is destined to marry, which the eldest seldome do. The doge's vest is of crimson velvet, the procurator's, &c. of damasc very stately. Nor was I lesse surprized with the strange variety of the severall nations seen every day in the streets and piazzas; Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Moores, Greeks, Sclavonians, some with their targets and boucklers, and all in their native fashions, negotiating in this famous emporium, which is always crowded with strangers."*

During Evelyn's visit, preparations were making for another celebrated war which Venice was about to maintain against the Turks; and, indeed, a voyage which he meditated to Jerusalem was prevented in consequence of the ship already engaged by him being pressed for the carriage of stores to Candia, then menaced by invasion. Ibrahim, the sultan who at that time filled the throne of Constantinople, is chiefly known to us by his weakness and his vices; † but he was governed by an enterprising vizier, Mohammed, pacha of Damascus, who eagerly seized an occasion promising aggrandizement to the Ottomans at the expense of Venice. A Turkish vessel, conveying to Mecca one of the sultanas and her son by Ibrahim, ‡ named

A. D.
1644.

* Evelyn, *ibid.* 321. Coryat speaks similarly of the throng in the Piazza: "Here you may both see all manner of fashions of attyre, and heare all the languages of Christendome, besides those that are spoken by the barbarous Ethnicks."—*Crudities*, 171.

† "Non possedeva alcuna delle doti che passano anchè tra i Barbari per necessarie: stolido senza lume, furioso senza intervalli, con tal mistura di crudeltà e di timore, di prodigalità e d'avaritia, che a' suoi medesimi pareva un composto di sensi, di costumi, di vizi contrarii, tra i lussu del Seraglio dato in preda alle libidini e alle delitie."—*Nani*, *part* ii. lib. i. p. 24.

‡ For various statements relative to the parentage of Othman, see Sir Paul Rycaut in his continuation of Knolles, vol. iii. p. 57. Diedo altogether rejects the common belief that it was a sultana who was captured.—*Tom.* iii. lib. v. p. 12.

Othman, had been captured by some Maltese galleys, which anchored with their prize in the first instance off the coast of Candia. Contrary to civilized usages, the prisoners were obstinately detained; the mother died of grief, the child was baptized, and finally became a Dominican, under the name of Padre Ottomano. The fury of Ibrahim on the receipt of this intelligence was ungovernable, and he breathed vengeance against all Christendom indiscriminately. It was in vain that the ambassadors of France and England, the resident of the United Provinces, and the *bailo* of Venice, when summoned before the vizier, protested that the knights of Malta formed an independent community, for whose acts no other power could be responsible; they were menaced with committal to the Seven Towers; and Mohammed, profiting by the accidental use which had been made of the harbours of Candia, directed his master's views of revenge to the conquest of that island. Against the barren rock of Malta the Turks before now had expended their mightiest efforts in vain; but the rich territory, the large population, and the commercial importance of Candia offered a prize perhaps of easier attainment, certainly of far greater value.

To write the history of the arduous struggle which Venice maintained during the next twenty-four years for this last remnant of her share in the partition of the Eastern empire, would far exceed our limits, and might, indeed, demand a separate work; so that we must content ourselves with touching rapidly upon a few of its more prominent incidents. In the first campaign, the Turks obtained possession of Khania, after a siege of fifty-seven days' continuance, and the loss of nearly twenty thousand men; and thus they secured, not only a strong military station, but a port also for the disembarkation of reinforcements. So important did this loss appear to the signory, that scarcely any sacrifice was deemed too great for its reparation, and recourse was had to extraordinary measures for increase of revenue. Every citizen was required to deliver for coinage at the mint three-fourths of his household plate; the highest official dignities were once again exposed to auction; and even nobility itself was now, for the first time, made venal. The unworthy proposal was met with becoming indignation by some of the more ancient

families. "Sell your children," exclaimed the aged Michaelli, "but never, never sell your nobility!"* An anecdote in a widely different spirit is told by Burnet. "When Corregge said to the duke that he was afraid to ask that honour for want of merit, the duke asked him if he had one hundred thousand ducats, and when the other answered that sum was ready, the duke told him *that was a great merit.*"† The conditions of this disgraceful sale announced that whatever subject of the state would pay, during a year, the expenses of one thousand soldiers, and for that purpose would deposit sixty thousand ducats in the treasury, should be admitted among the candidates from whom five nobles were to be selected. This lottery was extended to foreigners also on a small additional payment. Legitimate birth, and a satisfactory proof that no mechanical employment had degraded the family during the last three generations, were the sole requisites demanded from competitors; but Jews, Turks, and Saracens were peremptorily excluded; no sum, however great, might be received from them; no service, however valuable, might be pleaded for admission; and any individual who should be sufficiently daring to propose so gross an abomination, subjected himself to perpetual banishment, and the loss of his whole property. In the end, eighty new patricians, instead of five, were admitted by purchase, and the consequent returns to the treasury amounted to eight million ducats. Other unusual measures were demanded by the greatness of the occasion; and, in opposition to a state maxim which had been most rarely transgressed, FRANCESCO ERIZZO, the reigning doge, was called, like Enrico Dandolo, and at an equally advanced age, to assume the personal command of an expedition for the relief of Candia. Estimating his physical powers beyond their real strength, the veteran warrior died while preparing for his important charge.

During the second campaign, a singular spectacle was exhibited in the Venetian fleet; notwithstanding mutual existing differences, both France and Spain A. D. 1646. supplied reinforcements; so that two squadrons, which elsewhere would have met in hostile guise, were here arrayed under a confederate flag. The assistance

* "Vender i figli, ma non mai vender la nobilità!"

† *Letters*, p. 155. Rotterdam, 1686.

which Cardinal Mazarin thus afforded was repaid by inscription in the Golden Book; and the possessor of more than seventy million ducats was, perhaps, but little flattered by an honour which the disbursement of seventy thousand might have purchased in the common market. In her naval operations, Venice, from the superior skill of her mariners, was eminently successful; and the sultan, in order to *encourage** both his civil and military officers, confiscated the property of his Capudan Pacha, who had been killed in action; and with his own hand plunged a dagger into the heart of his vizier Mohammed, the first promoter of the war, because the blockade of the Turkish fleet retarded the movements of the army. Retimo, however, an episcopal city, with ten thousand inhabitants, yielded to the Ottomans; before the gates of Suda they piled five thousand Christian heads in pyramids; and they next commenced that siege of Candia, the metropolis of the island, which was to occupy them during a period more than double the term of the resistance of Troy.

Before the close of this year, a revolution at Constantinople seemed at first to permit hope of peace. The excesses and the cruelty of Ibrahim roused the janizaries to revolt, and a comparatively trifling incident completed the tyrant's destruction. Not satisfied with the gilded hangings and the precious tapestries which decorated the chambers of his palace, under the influence of some new, insane caprice of luxury, he lavished the scarcely credible sum of four millions of gold in collecting rare and costly furs, especially sables;† and the extortions to which he had recourse for the gratification of this expensive folly first awakened deep murmurs, and in the end organized a conspiracy among his prætorians. The gates of the seraglio were forced; and the insurgents, rushing in, called with loud cries for Ibrahim's son Mohammed; whom, notwithstanding his tender years, they destined for the crown. The tyrant, stung with rage and terror, seized the boy, unconscious of the purpose to which the tumult environing

* *Pour encourager les autres*; the reason given by Voltaire for the iniquitous execution of Admiral Byng.

† The authors of the *Universal History* tell us that Ibrahim, one of the most sensual of his detestable race, esteemed sables to be aphrodisiacs.—Vol. xii. p. 493.

him was directed, and would have despatched him with his own hand but for the intervention of the women of the harem. Mohammed, who had not yet completed his sixth year, still in tears and struggling with alarm, was borne off by the janizaries, placed upon the throne, and invested with the symbols of empire, while his wretched father was overpowered and strangled in an adjoining apartment. On the receipt of this intelligence, the signory, imagining that a change of rulers might produce a change of counsels also, proposed terms of peace; these, however, were rejected arrogantly, and not without ferocious outrages upon the minister of the republic. His first dragoman was put to death, under a pretext that he had offered bribes to some inferior officers of the divan; and the *bailo* himself, over whom similar punishment was long suspended, was thought happy in escaping with committal to the Seven Towers.

The war, therefore, continued to rage; and on almost every occasion during its protracted course in which the Turks encountered the Venetians by sea, they were signally discomfited; many remarkable incidents being transmitted to us of victory obtained against most disproportionately superior forces. In the engagement which we have before mentioned as costing his life to the Capudan Pacha, and their inheritance to his heirs, a single Venetian ship, commanded by Tommaso Morosini, sustained an attack from five-and-forty galleys, in the strait of Negropont. After a long and desperate resistance, in which Morosini himself was killed, and his ship boarded, but not mastered, the arrival of four of her mates put to flight the entire Turkish fleet, with the loss of their commander, of many prisoners, and of several galleys destroyed. The Dardanelles were frequently blockaded, and when, in 1649, the Turkish admiral, commanding eighty-three ships, sought, not to engage, but to elude a squadron of twenty Venetians, under Giacompo Riva, he was pursued to the road of Foscchia, not far north from Smyrna, and defeated with a loss, most probably exaggerated by the historians of the republic, but which, nevertheless, must have been large indeed to permit so great exaggeration as they have ventured to employ. We are told that most of the Ottoman ships were burned or driven on shore, that one thousand five

hundred Christian slaves were released, and seven thousand Turks killed; the loss of the conquerors meanwhile not exceeding fifteen dead and ninety wounded!*

Not long after this splendid victory, Riva despatched to Venice a single British ship, serving under his flag; her name was the Elizabeth Mary, her commander Captain Thomas Middleton; and it is with peculiar pleasure that an Englishman will read a special tribute of praise offered to the gallantry of one of his own countrymen. Pursued by thirty Turkish sail, this brave sailor, displaying the standard of St. Mark, beat off his assailants so vigorously that they were driven with great loss to refit in Mitylene; and he then proceeded with his own ship to Venice, not only in safety but in triumph.† A similar instance of English bravery is related by Diedo. He names the ship *Il Soccorso*, which we are unable to accommodate to our received marine nomenclature. She defended herself, singly, against the whole Turkish fleet, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and killed four hundred infidels before she was half burned and captured.‡

The coast of Paros was the next scene of naval conflict, where victory was won before the main Venetian fleet could be brought into action, by two of their advanced ships, commanded by the brothers Moncenighi; a name continually illustrious in the annals of this war. Often again also were the Dardanelles bloodily disputed; in the first instance by eight Venetians, 1654. attacked by thirty-two sail from the Archipelago, and by seventy-five from Constantinople. Incredible as it may appear, this combat was equally maintained; and Delpino, the commander of the republic, not only extricated himself from the swarms by which he was surrounded, but if the wind had permitted would have again joined battle on the morrow. In another action fought on the same spot in the year following, Lazaro, one of the two Moncenighi before distinguished at Paros, obtained a complete victory with forty sail opposed to one hundred; and in 1656 the same unwearied hero landed on the *Piazzetta*, covered with fresh wounds, and honourably disfigured by the loss

* Nani, part ii. lib. v. p. 244.

† *Idem.* *ibid.* p. 264.

‡ Tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 212.

of an eye, to announce the total destruction of eighty-four Turkish vessels, in the narrowest part of their own strait, under the protection of numerous batteries raised on either shore. Marcello, the Venetian commander-in-chief, was killed during this action, and the popular voice enthusiastically hailed Moncenigo as his successor. The senate, perhaps jealous of dictation, appointed a different officer; but a vote of the Great Council frustrated the intrigue, and Lazaro Moncenigo returned to the Ægean to immortalize himself by another triumph, and a glorious death. After capturing or destroying twenty Turkish galleys in an attempt to force the Dardanelles, he was separated from his enemy by a severe gale, which lasted during two successive days; on the third morning, when he renewed the combat, his ship caught fire, and the fall of a mast upon his head deprived him of life. Five hundred men perished in the explosion which followed; but the Venetians had the melancholy satisfaction of rescuing from the flames their standard and the body of their admiral. "I know not, however," is the just remark of Nani, "whether the sea might not have been the fittest grave for one who sacrificed his life upon that element for the prize of glory!"

During these naval events, which, for the sake of greater perspicuity, we have thrown together into a connected series, the land operations against the city of Candia had been tardily progressive. In soliciting aid among the chief European powers, Venice received assurances of important assistance from the Protector Cromwell, at that time wielding the most formidable maritime armament in the world.* He promised them help when a squadron which he was about to despatch to the Mediterranean for the punishment of the corsairs should reach its destination; a promise which, as it would have injured his oriental commerce, the wily dissembler was far too politic to fulfil. More than words, however, were obtained from Louis XIV.; and four thousand of the choicest French infantry and two hundred cavalry were placed at the disposal of Francesco Morosini, now for a second time during this war generalissimo of the republic.

* "Che con cento quaranta navi armate dominava il mare."—Nani, part II. lib. vi. p. 336.

That force was wasted in desultory operations; fifteen hundred men perished by the sword, the remainder by disease; and the signory, disappointed in their sanguine hope of success, recalled Morosini, and subjected him to prosecution. He had the rare fortune of being acquitted by a Venetian tribunal, and, ere long, of resuming a career which was finally to lead him to the very summit of glory.

Aid, ultimately more useful than that of France had proved, was supplied by a reconciliation with the court of Savoy, between which and Venice all intercourse had been suspended during thirty years. A former prince of that house, after intermarriage with the last heiress of the Lusignani, had been chased from the throne of Cyprus by the Venetians, who in their turn also were despoiled of it by the Turks. The republic, after her loss, wisely abstained from the empty assumption of a title which she was no longer able to support by arms; but it became a point of honour that it should not be borne by another; and accordingly, when the reigning Duke of Savoy subscribed himself King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, the signory indignantly withdrew their ambassador from his court. "We wish to heaven," was the quiet sarcasm of that minister to the duke, on his audience of leave, "that Cyprus really belonged to *you*, and not to the Turks!" On a new accession, the dispute was compromised by an evasion not less silly than the original claim; and the duke forbore using the offensive title when addressing the signory, although he assumed it in his communications with every other power.* But the necessities of the republic easily levelled any difficulty which might obstruct an accommodation upon which depended a supply of two picked regiments under the Marquis Villa, one of the ablest generals of his time. Errors similar to those which had before rendered the French unavailable were, unhappily, repeated with regard to this force also: it was broken in

* Venice, not being a monarchy, was naturally jealous of diplomatic styles. "The Doge of Venice, who acknowledges no superior, uses not majesty (to other potentates) but only *altezza* or *celsitudo*."—(Selden, *Titles of Honour*. Works, iii, 224.) As if in burlesque of this fastidiousness, the little republic of San Marino, comprising a population in all not exceeding seven thousand souls, used to address Venice as *nostra carissima sorella*.

detail ; nor did it become of effective use till, after suffering great loss, its remnant was concentrated within the walls of Candia. Long as that city had been invested, the siege can scarcely be said to have been pressed with sufficient vigour to promise conquest till the spring of 1667 ; when the grand-vizier Kieuperegli opened his batteries, having sat down under the ramparts in person, at the head of seventy thousand men, at the commencement of the preceding winter.

The chief command of the Venetians was now for a third time intrusted to Francesco Morosini ; he was supported by numerous skilful engineers, his garrison mustered about nine thousand men, and his fortifications were strong and in good repair. One side of the city, the form of which was nearly triangular, resting upon the sea, was thus open for supplies poured in from Venice with unsparing cost : for not only munitions of war, but almost every necessary of life, even biscuit and fuel, was despatched from the *Lagune*. Towards the land, the approaches were defended by a line of curtain three miles in circuit, flanked by seven bastions, and mounting four hundred pieces of artillery. The ditches were deep and wide, and every outwork had been diligently excavated with mines, yawning secretly, like so many hidden graves, for the countless numbers who were to perish in their abysses. The conduct of these subterraneous works, indeed, formed at that time the chief secret of military art in sieges ; and the scene of war, as Rycaut, the continuator of Knolles, expresses himself, "seemed to be transferred *ad inferos*." An English writer, who visited the neighbourhood of Candia within a very few years after this siege, appears to have listened with open ears to some very extraordinary narrations respecting it. "Another invention," says the excellent Bernard Randolph, "the Venetians had to fish up the Turkes, when they attempted to undermine the walls. They had hooks made in the forme of a boat's grapling, the point sharp, fastn'd to a rope, and four or five feet of chain at the end. These hooks they often cast over the wall amongst the Turkes ; and seldome failed to bring up a Turk, some fastn'd by the clothes, others by the body. I have heard some of the officers say they have taken several in a night ; for when the hook was fastn'd, they gave

them not time to unhook themselves, but had them over the wall. *And many a Turk have the common soldiers eaten.*"* But it would be tedious if we were to attempt to recite "the various assaults and valiant sallies, the traverses extraordinary, the rencounters bloody, the resistance vigorous," which the same writer assures us were more than were ever known or recorded in any siege before. It may suffice to say that from the opening of the trenches till the Turks retired to cantonments in this year, a period not exceeding six months, no less than seventeen sorties and thirty-two assaults were attempted; six hundred and eighteen mines were sprung on one side or the other; the loss of the garrison amounted to eighty officers and three thousand two hundred men, and that of the Turks to more than twenty thousand. One of the mines is said to have required eighteen thousand pounds of powder, and to have blown into the air, with destruction either of life or limbs, one thousand victims.

The Marquis Villa, who had most bravely seconded Morosini in command, was recalled by the Duke of Savoy in the following spring, when the garrison was A. D. 1668. strongly reinforced by three thousand Imperialists. The chief work undertaken by the Turks during the summer was the construction of an enormous mole in the port, by means of which they commanded the weakest part of the fortifications, and materially annoyed the garrison. They established themselves also on the site of a ruined bastion, from which no efforts of the besieged could dislodge them. The year was closed by an enterprise among the most remarkable in modern history; rash, headlong, generous, dazzling, useless, and inconclusive as any of those which belong to more chivalrous and romantic ages.

The long duration of the war of Candia, and the recent great efforts both of the garrison and of the besiegers, had naturally arrested the regard and fired the imagination of all Europe; and some youthful nobles of France, passionately enamoured of glory, and easily kindling a fancied zeal for religion also, banded together, as for a new crusade, to combat the infidels. Six hundred volunteers, all of gentle blood, many of them scions of the most ancient houses

* Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago, by B. R. who resided in those parts from 1671 to 1679.

which France could boast, enrolling themselves under the command of the Duke de la Feuillade and the banner of the Grand-master of Malta, embarked from the coast of Provence, and arrived in Candia towards the end of November. Louis XIV. added his own name to the brilliant list, and commuted his personal service for a contribution of forty thousand golden ducats.* Morosini immediately employed them in defence of one of his most advanced out-works; a post the danger of which might have amply satisfied a thirst for honour in less ardent and restless spirits. But it was not to await attack that these lion-hearted youths had traversed the Mediterranean; and burning for action, and viewing war chiefly as a pastime, they endeavoured to create opportunities for combat when these failed to offer themselves spontaneously. Almost daily, therefore, some champion would leap the palisades, and rushing singly on the enemies' lines, would either sacrifice his own life in an idle bravado, or bring back a prisoner to encumber the garrison. So thinned were their ranks by these fruitless rencounters, that their leader, fearful lest his numbers might at length become too far diminished to permit such an exhibition of prowess as he coveted, eagerly conjured the generalissimo to attempt a general sortie; an operation which, according to the sanguine expressions of the volunteers themselves, could not do less than compel the enemy to raise the siege.

It was in vain that Morosini endeavoured to temper the rash fervour of his indiscreet allies, by showing that his force was insufficient either to support their design in the first instance, or, even if they were successful, to maintain any ground which they might win. The French continued obstinate in their purpose; and the 16th of December being fixed upon for their enterprise, the preceding evening was employed, as we are told, "in making clean consciences."† Two hours before daybreak, the volunteers, accompanied by one hundred Venetians, and amounting altogether to no more than four hundred and fifty men, de-

* *Palatius, Fasti Ducales*, 300.

† "Chacun employa la veille à mettre ordre tout de bon à sa conscience."

—*Journal de l'Expédition de M. de la Feuillade par un Volontaire*. Lyons, 1669.

scended from the rampart to the *fausse-braye* ;* not by one of the gates, nor even by a postern, for those entrances it was considered hazardous to open ; but by a breach presenting an aperture so scanty that not more than a single file could pass abreast. For the sake of moving over the difficult and intersected ground with greater freedom, the French had disencumbered themselves from their armour ; and the few who retained their morions and scull-caps speedily threw aside even those defences. Each of the cavaliers was accompanied by a page armed with a brace of pistols, and with a spontoon in his hand ; for swords were seldom employed against the Turks, who, notwithstanding their own superior adroitness in the exercise of musketry, could rarely be persuaded to stand an encounter with firearms. Crouching down on the ground, and awaiting a signal for advance, this brave company was thrown into slight confusion by an unexpected cannonade which opened from the batteries of the enemy, treacherously apprized of their design. Not a moment further was delayed. Fucillade, armed only with a whip, rushed forward ; and by his side, and sometimes even before him, strode a Capucin, regardless of the bullets which plunged around, displaying a lifted crucifix, and animating the combatants by his impassioned voice and gestures. The trenches were guarded by two thousand six hundred Turks, of whom more than half were slain and the rest put to flight ; so that after two hours' contest the French remained in possession of seven redoubts. But however gallantly those works had been stormed, it was not possible that they should be long occupied. The fugitives had already rallied, and even after their great loss were nearly thrice the number of those before whom they had given way ; the camp was pouring out its hosts in their support ; and the conquerors swept away by a ceaseless cannonade, and pressed on each flank and in front by overwhelming battalions, now hoped for no other gain from their barren victory beyond retirement within the walls which they had recently been so impatient to quit. So blind, however, was the zeal of the Capucin, that he continued to shout vociferously for advance long after orders had been

* The *fausse-braye*, although rejected in modern fortification, at the time of which we are writing was a low parapet thrown up three or four toises in front of the main rampart.

given for retreat ; and some gentle violence became necessary to restrain his mischievous enthusiasm. An eyewitness tells us, that in spite of the crucifix which he brandished, his unseasonable ardour provoked M. de la Fueillade to express himself with some little asperity ; and if we do not greatly mistake the sly implication which the writer intends to convey, the angry duke swore roundly against the energetic friar.* Under cover of the guns from the ramparts, the remnant of this little band of heroes at length gained the city, re-entering by the same narrow passage through which they had before issued ; the duke himself, wounded in three places, being the last man who quitted the ditch. One hundred and twenty of their number were left killed or wounded in the trenches ; and all of these underwent the same ultimate fate, their heads being mounted on pikes and exhibited in scorn to the garrison. The delicacy of complexion and the profusion of light hair which distinguished the Marquis of Douradout, one of the slain, rendered him a particular object of admiration to the grand-vizier. On the evening before the sortie, the careless and unapprehensive youth had tied up those flowing locks with unusual care, in order that they might not incommode him in the day of battle ; and Kiuperegli, struck by his beauty, even in the grimness of death, set apart the head for several days for the special inspection of his friends ; and then crowned with it the ghastly pyramid which he erected from those of its comrades.† No small alarm had been excited by a similar barbarous trophy during an earlier part of this siege, when it was confidently reported that one of the Christian heads both moved and spoke ; and the grand-vizier witnessed this marvel with his own eyes, and acknowledged its astounding truth. His sagacity however penetrated the natural cause of this mystery ; the head, it seems, had been raised somewhat higher than its fellows, and the wind not only gave it motion, but rattled also with a hollow sound through its nostrils. Although those passages were stopped with mortar by

* " Le crucifix qu'il avoit en main n'empêcha pas M. de la Fueillade de s'emporter un peu contre l'indiscrétion de son zèle : mais il le fit assez dévotement, car il prononça plusieurs fois le nom de Dieu dans la petite reprimande qu'il luy fit. "—(Journal, &c. p. 115.)

† Ibid. p. 118.

command of Kiuperegli, the miracle had so forcibly seized upon the credulity of the Mussulman soldiery, that they would not be convinced it had really ceased. A general voice proclaimed that the Giaour had been converted to the faith of the prophet in the article of death; and the vizier was not able to put an end to the illusion till the head was thrown into the sea.*

But a few days after this brilliant extravagance, the volunteers, as if the great object of their expedition had been completed, re-embarked for France. Of the six hundred warriors, fervid with youth, illustrious by birth, and glittering in equipments,† who had landed in Candia scarcely a month before, only two hundred and thirty remained alive; of these, fifty were grievously wounded, many of whom afterward died; and among the rest were scattered the seeds of plague, which fatally exhibited themselves in their homeward voyage. Nevertheless, the ill success of this enterprise by no means discouraged the French, and a much larger armament was supplied, not as before at private cost, but by the king himself. Six thousand men, under

A. D. 1669. the command of the Dukes de Beaufort and Navailles

entered the harbour of Candia before the following midsummer; and as Louis XIV. still avowedly maintained amicable relations with the sultan, this breach of neutrality was veiled by transporting his troops under the papal flag. "Miserable indeed was it," writes one of the officers accompanying this expedition, "to behold the state of Candia when we landed; the streets were covered with cannon-balls and bullets, splinters of shells and grenades; the walls of every church and public edifice were shattered and nearly ruined by bombardment, nor was there one house left which appeared better than a tottering hovel; pestilential stench assailed us on all sides; and turn whichever way we would, dead, wounded, or crippled soldiers met our eyes."‡ The Turkish camp meanwhile continued to exhibit every appearance of a fixed resolve of conquest; and so determined were the besiegers not to remove till Candia had yielded, that the grand-vizier and one hundred of his chief officers,

* De la Guilletière, *Voyages d'Athènes et de Candie*, p. 373.

† "Tutti apparendo feroci per l'età chiari per la nobiltà, lucidi e ornati per i vestimenti e per l'arme."—Nani, *part ii. lib. xi. p. 570.*

‡ Desreux de la Richardière, *Voyage en Candie*, cited by Daru.

instead of living in tents, had erected substantial houses. That of Kiuperegli himself is described as consisting of two stories, six feet from the foundation being constructed of stone, the upper part of wood-work and stucco.*

Strange as it may appear, the dearly purchased experience of M. de la Fuëillade was lost upon his successors. The main body of the French troops entered the city by night; but the royal guard, urged by a fanciful sense of honour, awaited full day, in order that they might march openly under the Turkish batteries. Nor when they manned the walls were they less deaf than their predecessors to the sage counsel of Morosini; but, declining all other service, they insisted upon an immediate sortie, and refused even the accompaniment of Venetian guides well acquainted with the distribution of the hostile works. The result may easily be anticipated. The Turks were in the first instance chased from their intrenchments, as before, with great slaughter; but the explosion of a tumbril spread panic among the assailants, whose imaginations were so profoundly imbued with terror of the mines of Candia, that every footstep seemed trodden upon concealed and treacherous fires. Soon therefore as the warning cry "a mine! a mine!" passed through the ranks, every man's heart sank within him, and the flight became general. Five hundred heads, among which were those of the Duke de Beaufort and many other nobles, were displayed on the same evening under the walls; and the remaining French, dispirited by their repulse, and disgusted by the wearisomeness of garrison duty, broke up and re-embarked in scarcely two months after their arrival, in spite of the reclamations of Morosini and the tears and entreaties of the suppliant inhabitants.

This abandonment by the French was a signal for a like defection of all the other auxiliaries; and the papal galleys and the Maltese and German troops withdrew in succession: yet although left with no more than three thousand serviceable men, Morosini still had sufficient vigour to repulse a general assault. But further defence was now hopeless, and it remained only to obtain such terms as might be accepted consistently with honour. In arranging

* De la Guilletière, *Voyages d'Athènes et de Candie.*

his capitulation, Morosini, with admirable dexterity, converted it into a peace; and nobly encountering the great hazard of exceeding his powers in a case which promised benefit to his country (a responsibility dangerous under any government, *most* dangerous under the oligarchy of Venice), he stipulated that amicable relations should be renewed by the surrender of all Candia, with the exception of three ports;* which, together with some conquests in Dalmatia, Venice was to retain. When the garrison marched out from the walls which had cost the lives of thirty thousand Christians, and four times that number of infidels, its general condition may be estimated from that of a single corps.—“The regiment of Negron, which I commanded,” says Philibert de Jarry,† “numbered at the beginning of the siege two thousand five hundred men, and I had received during its course four hundred recruits. We quitted the city, officers and soldiers together, but seventy men in all, of whom forty were cripples!” The inhabitants of Candia were included in this capitulation; and so faithful were they to their former lords, or so suspicious of the tyranny of those new masters to whom their native seats were about to be transferred, that, as Rycaut assures us, two Greek priests, one woman, and three Jews were all that remained behind.‡ The rest, with their whole property, were received on board the Venetian fleet; and for their conveyance, as well as that of the garrison, which was permitted to carry with it all the artillery but such as had been mounted upon the walls before the commencement of the siege, fifteen barks and forty shallops sufficed. The keys of Candia were presented to the vizier on the 27th of September. The members of thirty noble Venetian families who had colonized the island were readmitted to their seats in the Great Council; the Candiote nobility were naturalized as citizens of Venice; and the remainder of the expatriated population was distributed through Istria with allotments of land for its support. Perhaps no clearer

* The Turks were wise enough to perceive that possession of the rest of the island gave them command of those ports whenever they chose to seize them. “We have got the hen,” they said; “the chickens will follow of course.”—Bernard Randolph.

† *Histoire de Siege de Candie*, cited by Darn.

‡ Diedo varies a little from this statement.—Tom. iii. lib. x. p. 222.

image can be conveyed of the profound impression stamped upon the national mind by the remembrance of the terrors of this mighty struggle, than by stating that, even to this hour, after the lapse of more than a century and a half, if a Venetian wishes to imply a "war to the knife," he proverbially terms it *UNA GUERRA DI CANDIA*.



Venetian Lady dyeing her hair.
From Titian. See page 278.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM A. D. 1670 TO A. D. 1798.

Trial of Morosini—Annulment of the Election of Giovanni Sagredo—War with Turkey—Conquest of the Morea—Peace of Carlowitz—Second War with Turkey—Loss of the Morea—Successful Defence of Corfu, by Count Schullemburg—Peace of Passarowitz—Neutrality subsequently observed by Venice—Expeditions against the African Corsairs—Attacks upon the Ten—Demoralization of Venice—Commencement of the French Revolution—Campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy—Indecision of the Signory—Bloody Affray at Verona—Capture of a French Vessel at Lido—Bonaparte declares War—Imbecility of the Government—Abdication of the Doge Manini—The French occupy Venice—Venice transferred to Austria by the Treaty of Campo Formio.

DOGES.

A. D.

	DOMINICO CONTARINI.
1674.	CVII. NICOLÒ SAGREDO.
1676.	CVIII. LUIGI CONTARINI.
1683.	CIX. MARO' ANTONIO GIUSTINIANI.
1688.	CX. FRANCESCO MOROSINI.
1694.	CXI. SILVESTRO VALIERO.
1700.	CXII. LUIGI MONCENIGO.
1709.	CXIII. GIOVANNI CORNARO.
1722.	CXIV. SEBASTIANO MONCENIGO.
1732.	CXV. CARLO RUZZINI.
1735.	CXVI. LUIGI PISANI.
1741.	CXVII. PIETRO GRIMANI.
1752.	CXVIII. FRANCESCO LOREDANO.
1762.	CXIX. MARCO FOSCARINI.
1763.	CXX. ALVIZZO MONCENIGO.
1779.	CXXI. PAOLO RENIERO.
1788.	CXXII. LUIGI MANINI.

THE last of those islands from the possession of which Venice might once have asserted a title to regality had now

been severed from her rule ; and the sole memorials of her former sovereignty over Negropont, Cyprus, and Candia were to be found in the standards separately blazoned with the armorial bearings of those kingdoms, and unfurled on festivals from the three lofty flagstuffs in front of St. Mark's ; and in the three golden crowns still preserved in its treasury. Heroic as had been the defence of the lost dominions by the bravery of Morosini, beneficial as was the peace concluded by his wisdom, there were not wanting some base and envious spirits among his countrymen who regarded that bravery and that wisdom with ill-disguised jealousy. Not many months after the close of the war, Antonio Corrario, an obscure individual who had raised himself into notice by a certain popular eloquence, commenced a series of invectives against the late generalissimo. He denounced the peace as unauthorized, as the work of a private hand, not of the state, and therefore as affording a most dangerous precedent : he spoke in terms of suspicion both of the courage and of the integrity of Morosini, and he called upon the Great Council to institute a close inquiry into his administration. The council, always pleased with any exercise of authority which contributed to the depression of eminent merit, voted assent by a large majority ; and as a preliminary step, it was moved that the accused should be stripped of his dignity of *procuratore*, which had been conferred upon him during the latter period of the siege with some slight deviation from customary form. After a vehement debate, this cruel and injurious proposition was rejected, chiefly through the exertions of Giovanni Sagredo, a brother *procuratore*, and of the historian Foscarini ; but Morosini nevertheless was imprisoned and tried. A solemn judgment of the senate ultimately pronounced his honourable acquittal ; and this long process, commenced, as we are told, with rash zeal, and prosecuted with heat and passion, terminated with justice. Such a conclusion was no less rare in Venice than the premises were frequent.

Whether from a remembrance among the nobles that Giovanni Sagredo had thus rescued an illustrious object of their persecution from an unworthy sentence, or from other causes, is by no means to be ascertained clearly, but when

A. D. 1675. the ducal throne became vacant by the death of his brother Nicolò,* and more than the requisite number of suffrages in the last balloting for the dogeship had been given in Giovanni's favour, the council gladly made use of an unprecedented demur to prevent confirmation of this choice. The palace of the doge-elect was already filled with a congratulating throng, the officers of his household were arranged, and all preparations were made for the assumption of his new dignity; but, on the other hand, the usual measure of popular applause was wanting, and during the absence of the nobles in the council-chamber, the *Broglio* became filled with a fierce and discontented rabble. The gondoliers, who most frequently took the lead in Venetian tumults, swelled the seditious uproar by loud clamours against the parsimony of Sagredo, who on his appointment as *procuratore* had, it seems, omitted a customary largesse; and they reproached him besides with a personal defect certainly not redounding to the credit of his moral habits. The friends of the rejected candidates encouraged these demonstrations of resistance, and the council, influenced either by their own jealousy, or by alarm at the popular movement, annulled their first election, and proceeded to choose and to inaugurate LUIGI CONTARINI.†

The reign of Contarini was pacific: that of his successor MARCO ANTONIO GIUSTINIANI witnessed a renewal of hostilities with Turkey, during which a brief sunshine A. D. 1683. of glory shed for awhile, and for the last time, its parting rays upon the arms of the republic. Success in the approaching contest, as we are gravely assured by a professor of canon law in the university of Padua, might have been fearlessly augured from an accident‡ which occurred on the day of Giustiniani's coronation; when, as he

* Palatius (without noticing the maxim of Vespasian) relates that this doge died in a standing posture,—“*stando excessit, ne videretur impulsus cadere.*”—*Fasti Ducales*, 289.

† Burnett (*Letter* iii.) declares that Sagredo retired to *Terra Firma* in disgust; Foscarini, on the contrary, passes a high eulogy on the equanimity with which he endured his repulse, and afterward administered some of the highest offices in the republic.—*Lib. ii. ad ann.*

‡ “*Casu? linguam corripo—non casu, sed manum Principis dirigente Deo.*”—*Vita M. A. Justiniani raptim in funere ejus edicta, apud Palatii Fast. Duc.* 306.

scattered money among the populace before the gates of St. Mark's, a silver coin thrown from his hand struck a Turkish bystander in the eye and deprived him of sight. Since the termination of the war of Candia, Venice, conscious of inability to resist, had endured a long series of insults and outrages with unremitting patience; and the Porte, no doubt encouraged by this submission from her most ancient and hitherto her most pertinacious enemy, directed her next aggression against the court of Austria. When the Vizier Cara Mustapha marched at the head of two hundred thousand men on Vienna, he found the garrison of that metropolis intrusted to a Venetian general, whom a train of romantic circumstances had led to its command. The mother of Ferdinando d'Obizzi, a lady of distinguished beauty, many years since had fallen a victim to the despair and fury of a noble, whose attempts upon her honour she had indignantly repulsed. The rash suitor found means of gaining access by night to the chamber which his mistress occupied with her child. There, stung to madness by failure in his hopes, the disappointed lover poniarded the object of his lawless passion; and, on the discovery of his atrocious crime, he underwent, not its due punishment, but an imprisonment of fifteen years. On his release after that period, Ferdinando, who had then attained the age of manhood, resolutely pursued the assassin till he avenged his mother's death by the blood of her murderer; and then, escaping to the Austrian frontiers, he entered into the service of the emperor, in which his merits at length raised him to high military elevation. Thus defended, Vienna held out till the chivalrous valour of John Sobieski and his Poles totally overthrew the invaders, under her walls, in that memorable battle A. D. 1684. which not only delivered Austria from her immediate peril, but established also a barrier for Christendom, against which no subsequent efforts of the infidels have been able to prevail.

Roused by that great and splendid triumph, Venice hastened to conclude an alliance against Turkey with Poland, Austria, and the Czar of Moscovy, the ruler of a people now first beginning to emerge from barbarism, and to assume a station in civilized Europe. During the negotiation preceding this league, a compliment of great elegance was

offered by the Polish ambassador to the distinguished attainments of the doge. The envoy, having addressed a speech to the *Collegio* in Latin, the vernacular language of his court, was answered by Giustiniani in the same tongue promptly, fluently, and correctly; and the minister, struck with admiration, observed, "*Cum crederem me ad Venetos verba facturum, Romanos inveni!*" When the Moscovite ambassador joined in a like expression of astonishment, he was told that the answer could as easily have been given in French, Spanish, Greek, or Hebrew; that Turkish, indeed, was the sole language which Giustiniani abominated, calling it *tympaxum irati Dei*.*

Francesco Morosini was once more appointed generalissimo; and the brilliancy and rapidity of his conquests fully justified the confidence displayed by his former persecutors that all past wrongs would be forgotten at the call of his country. A few weeks sufficed for the attack and capture of the island of Sta. Maura, and of the town of Previsa, on the neighbouring continent. He next invested Coron with eight thousand men, surprised and routed a pacha who hastened to its relief with a greatly superior force, and put its whole garrison to the sword, as a punishment for a treacherous breach of faith during the arrangement of a capitulation which they had proposed. No cost was spared by Venice to enable her general to pursue these first successes, and troops were levied in every country of Europe which permitted their enrolment. Sweden, Brunswick, and Saxony afforded reinforcements, which obtained for Morosini an uninterrupted career of victory in the Morea during three campaigns; till, aided by the suffering natives, he chased the seraskier from post to post, drove him across the isthmus of Corinth, and remained in possession of the entire peninsula, except the single town of Malvasia.

The isthmus was the main key of the conquered province, and for its greater security, Morosini immediately occupied Lepanto, Patras, and other strongholds on its western gulf. He then commenced similar movements on its opposite shore; and in the course of those operations, the blind fury of war inflicted on the fine arts, by civilized hands, a blow more fatal, perhaps, than any they had been

* Palatius, 306.

doomed to encounter from barbarian violence. The Venetians, having marched on Athens, immediately occupied the modern town Setines, which is without walls. Six days' bombardment, however, was directed against the inaccessible Acropolis, to which the Turks had retired; and a shell discharged at random, and falling on the Parthenon, which had been converted into a magazine, fired the powder and shattered in pieces the roof hitherto preserved entire. The majestic pile, thus rendered unserviceable for ordinary uses, became worthless in the eyes of the rude masters to whom it was soon afterward to revert; and they saw in its magnificent remains no more than a huge mass of ready-chiselled stone, from which materials might be obtained with greater ease and at less cost than if hewn from the quarry. In the opinion of the phlegmatic historian Foscarini, however, this irreparable calamity was amply compensated by the surrender of the Acropolis to his countrymen.* Among the trophies which immortalize this conquest are to be numbered the two marble Lions found on the Piræus, which still sentinel the gates of the arsenal at Venice.†

Lavish rewards were deservedly showered upon Morosini by the gratitude of his country; his title of *cavaliere* was declared hereditary (a rare honour, bestowed as yet on no more than two illustrious houses, the Quirini and the Contarini), and since he was without male issue, a remainder was granted to his nephew. Like the Scipios, he received a *cognomen* derived from the country which had witnessed his heroic exploits; his statue was erected in the armoury of the Ten, with an inscription of dignified brevity, "*Francisco Mauroceno Peloponnesiaco, adhuc viventi, S. P. A. 1687;*"

* "Many of the statues on the *posticum* (we are told in the *Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*), which had been thrown down by the explosion, had been absolutely pounded for mortar, because they furnished the whitest marble within reach."—"Soon afterward, somewhat higher up, we also saw, among some loose stones used as the materials of a wall, a piece of sculpture of white marble, in very bold relief, representing the *torso* of a male figure. This proved to be nothing less than a fragment of one of the metopes belonging to the Parthenon."—Dr. E. D. Clarke's *Travels*, iii. 475. 4to.

† Their inscription runs as below,—"*Franciscus Maurocenus Peloponnesiacus, expugnatis Athenis, marmorea Leonum simulacra triumphali manu e Piræo direpta in Patriam transtulit, futura Veneti Leonis ius fuerant Minervæ Atticæ ornamenta.*"

and in the spring of the following year, on the death of A. D. Giustiniani, he was raised, by acclamation and in 1688. his absence, to the vacant throne. The general voice forbade all competition; but the jealous vigilance of the aristocracy deteriorated this high token of national confidence and affection, by despatching to Morosini's quarters two senators, who were to share authority with the new doge as assessors of his council.

The star of Morosini had now attained its highest ascendant; henceforward we shall perceive it in decline. Continuing his functions as generalissimo, he landed before the city of Negropont, and had already driven the Turks within the walls, when the plague showed itself in his camp; and, after destroying a full third of his troops, exposed the remainder, enfeebled by disease and discouraged by the loss of their comrades, to an attack from the seraskier. He was repulsed, but not without inflicting terrific slaughter. Reinforcements arrived soon afterward, and Morosini gave a general assault, which cost him numerous lives, and gained only a hard-disputed outwork. After six weeks more of unavailing effort, he abandoned the siege with the intention of investing Malvasia; but there also evil fortune pursued him, and a severe illness compelled his return to Venice.

The war continued with various success during the A. D. following five years; in the last of which the Venetian commander, Moncenigo, neglected to profit by a favourable opportunity for the recovery of Candia. A landing was successfully effected before Canea, regular approaches were made to the walls, and a practicable breach was already reported; when the besieging general, alarmed at a false rumour of a threatened attack upon the Morea, withdrew at the very moment in which victory appeared almost to woo him. His immediate disgrace ensued, and Morosini, although now advanced in years and struggling with infirmities, was called once more to the command.

But nature gave way under exertions disproportionate to his remaining vigour; and, after a campaign A. D. 1694. spent unsuccessfully in pursuit of an enemy who perpetually eluded him, he expired during the following winter at Napoli di Romania.

How greatly Venice had declined in a few short years

from the uninterrupted pre-eminence on the seas which she had maintained during the war of Candia, was too plainly shown in the issue of four naval battles fought during the reign of SILVESTRO VALIERO, Morosini's successor. All of these engagements were most sanguinary; in one, at least, the Turks were superior; and the result of the others was inconclusive. In the last year of the seventeenth century, the great powers of the league hitherto subsisting against the Turks, some weary of the protracted contest, some alarmed at the gigantic projects manifested by Louis XIV. for the attainment of the Spanish succession, readily accepted the mediation of England with the Porte; and by the peace of Carlowitz, the Morea, the glorious fruit of Morosini's prowess, was ceded to Venice. A. D. 1699. Once again she indulged a vain hope of retaining that important conquest by the feeble barrier of a chain of posts drawn across the isthmus; and for the third or fourth time in her history, the rampart of the Peloponnesians was renewed in order to be overthrown.

During the war of the succession which occupied the first thirteen years of the eighteenth century, Venice, indifferent to the quarrel between France and Austria, professed a neutrality which was hourly invaded. Her provinces were traversed by the armies and moistened by the blood of the conflicting parties, in more than one campaign; and the Bresciano and the Veronese, of which latter district, in spite of three centuries of possession by the republic, the emperor still affected to speak as his own, witnessed many a hard-fought combat; and afforded a theatre on which the Mareschals Catinat and Villeroy, the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Vendome, and Prince Eugene exhibited numerous well-known deeds of skill and valour. Even the sacredness of the Adriatic itself did not escape violation; and many vessels suspected, in most cases not unjustly, of conveying stores to the Austrian ports, under the Venetian or other flags, were captured and destroyed. We are told indeed of an English ship equipped for the service of the emperor, fired and blown up by the French while she lay, unapprehensive of danger, in the very depths of the harbour of Malamocco. The treaty of Utrecht terminated these violences, and the republic, although neither a party in the war, nor a mediator of the peace, was invited to send her plenipotentiary to the congress. A. D. 1713.

It was little however to be expected that the Ottoman Porte would consent without an opposing effort to the eternal renunciation of the Morea; and scarcely had tranquillity been restored in the west, before the din of preparation was heard at Constantinople. The real object of this armament could not be doubted; and Venice, by her inaction, must be supposed to have persuaded herself that voluntary blindness would afford safety; like that bird which is said to hope that she will escape capture if she can but once avert her own eyes from her pursuers. Dreading the approach of war far too deeply to believe it with readiness, the signory affected to credit the prettexts advanced by the divan. Troops, it was said, were being levied from an apprehension of revolt at Constantinople; ships were being assembled and stores embarked to chastise some insurgents on the frontiers of Dalmatia. And even when the *bailo* of Venice was committed to the Seven Towers, and one hundred thousand Turks under the grand-vizier, co-operating with a fleet of more than one hundred sail, were greedily advancing upon their defenceless prey, Giovanni Delfino, *provveditore* of the Morea, now invested with the sounding title of *generalissimo*, could number only eight thousand troops, eleven galleys, and eight ships of the line at his disposal. The course of neutrality which Venice had recently adopted, deprived her also of allies. France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands declined further interference than solicitation for the release of her *bailo*; the emperor mediated, but in vain, for peace; the pope supplied four of his own galleys and procured two others from the Grand-duke of Tuscany; and the Knights of Malta added six as their contingent to this pitiful confederacy.

We need not trace minutely the progress of a catastrophe which must have already been anticipated. Tinos, an important island, one of the earliest Venetian possessions in the East, and so strongly fortified that it had maintained itself during the whole war of Candia, capitulated at the first summons; and its governor expiated his cowardice or his treachery by perpetual imprisonment. Corinth
A. D. 1714. beat a parley after four days' investment; and in spite of terms which the vizier had granted, the major part of its garrison was put to the sword on the spot, the rest, after having been conveyed on shipboard to Napoli di

Romania, were beheaded in sight of the Venetian soldiery on its ramparts. The isthmus was easily forced; Egina, Modon, Argos, and Malvasia surrendered without firing a shot; and Napoli, stormed at night after a brief but gallant defence, itself underwent those horrors of indiscriminate massacre which it had recently seen inflicted on others. In a few months, the whole Morea was reconquered; and Delfino, who had taken refuge in his fleet, abandoned the lost province to its fate, avoided battle, permitted the capture of Cerigo in his very presence, and retired to Corfu.

By those few cities of Candia which still acknowledged fealty to St. Mark was the only resistance offered worthy of former Venetian renown: but even in them also the Ottomans ultimately prevailed; and the capitulation of Spina Longa and of Suda before the close of 1715, stripped the republic of the last scanty remnant of her once vast oriental dominion. So grievous indeed was the degeneration of that people who in former ages vanquished the capital of the East, and who even recently had defended Candia for more than a quarter of a century, that on the removal of Delfino from his command with disgrace, three elections were necessary before any noble would accept the vacant office; and even when Andréa Pisani at length departed for the fleet, his instructions were, not to attempt reconquest, but to content himself by protecting the islands at the mouth of the Adriatic. A change in political interests, however, furnished Venice with one important ally; and the emperor, Charles VI., fearing that the Bourbons might establish themselves afresh in Italy, bartered for the aid of the republic, in that country, if it should be needed, by an immediate powerful diversion against the Turks on the frontiers of Hungary. Prince Eugene, accordingly, was despatched on that service; and he preserved Dalmatia by occupying the infidel force no longer required in the Morea; and which, but for the presence of an Austrian army, would have poured down unresisted on the colonies of Venice.

Corfu nevertheless was left open to attack; but the great strength of its fortifications and the acknowledged skill of its commander gave promise of most vigorous resistance. The Venetian army had been committed to the charge of the Saxon Count Schullemburg; a soldier who has won deserved immortality by eluding the

A. D.
1716.

utmost efforts of the Swedish Charles when in the full career of victory.* Thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse were laded without opposition by the Capudan Pacha under the walls of Corfu; and their first operations were directed against the neighbouring heights of Abraham and St. Salvador, which command the city. Those positions were most vigorously defended, and afforded many opportunities for the display of great personal valour. We read of a Jew who on one occasion discomfited with his single hand eight assailants by whom he had been surrounded; and who, upon receiving baptism, was promoted on the spot to the rank of captain. The heights, nevertheless, were at length mastered; and the besiegers, not attempting either to advance by regular approaches or to batter in breach, commenced a series of most harassing and perpetually renewed assaults sword in hand, under cover of an incessant bombardment. The inhabitants sought refuge within the numerous caverns and excavations with which the rocky site of their town abounds; and Schullemburg concerted a sortie, in which, while the bravery of his Italian troops defeated the infidels with great slaughter, the misconduct of his Germans lost the fruit of victory, by pouring a mistaken, deadly fire upon their confederates, and slaying at the first volley two hundred picked Slavonians. It was not possible to restore confidence after this unhappy collision, and the conquerors hurried back to their walls in alarm and disorder.

At length the seraskier of the Morea, impatient of longer delay, and perhaps alarmed at its probable consequences to his own head, gave orders for a general storm. Pressed on all quarters and overpowered by numbers, the garrison at first everywhere gave way; but the vacant places of the armed men were rapidly supplied by the citizens, by priests, and even by women, who fought with the courage of desperation, and stemmed the onset of the infidels. "What is it you are about to do?" inquired Schullemburg of a Greek monk who was rushing a second time to the ramparts with a huge iron cross uplifted in his hands. "Let me alone, let me alone, that I may dash this cursed crucifix at their heads!" was the reply of the enthusiast, not perceiving

* Voltaire, *Charles XII.* liv. iii.

that his zealous ardour betrayed him into inadvertent blasphemy.* The besiegers however scaled the walls and planted thirty standards on their summits, and all would have been lost but for the consummate generalship of the Saxon. Placing himself at the head of eight hundred men, and descending by a postern upon the glacis, he charged the assailants unexpectedly in rear, threw them into complete disorder, chased them from the works which they had gained, pursued them to their camp, and slew two thousand of the fugitives. Nor was this repulse their sole disaster. A hurricane on the succeeding night swept away their tents and inundated their encampment with rain; and so far alarmed them for the safety of their fleet, that with loud and mutinous clamours they demanded instant re-embarkation. At dawn their terror was augmented by the sight of a numerous hostile armament in the offing. It was a Spanish squadron arriving with reinforcements for the garrison: and the seraskier, perceiving that it was no longer possible to arrest the contagion of panic and insubordination, made arrangements for precipitate retreat on the following night, having sacrificed fifteen thousand men during an unavailing siege of two-and-forty days. Not many hours after this flight a reconnoitring party from the garrison, struck by the unusual stillness in the enemy's advanced posts, ventured to penetrate onward to their lines, and was astonished by discovering their abandonment. Numerous wounded, the entire stores, tents, baggage, magazines, and artillery were the prize of the besieged; and the great services of Schullemburg were rewarded by substantial tokens of gratitude, and by the most honourable of all monuments,—a statue erected during his lifetime on the walls which he had defended.

Some bloody naval engagements, unproductive of any serious result, and the capture by Schullemburg of Previsa and Wonizza, occurred during the following A. D.
year,—in which the Imperialists also under Prince 1717.
Eugene became masters of Belgrade. The approaching reconquest of the Morea was now confidently and not unreasonably anticipated by the signory; but the emperor

* "*Lasciate, lasciate, Christi maledetti su la testa,*" cited by Daru from "*Voyage dans les Isles et Possessions Venitiennes du Levant,*" par A. Grasset de St. Saviour, liv. vi. ch. 69.

sought profit from his own victories and those of his allies not by extending the dominion of Venice, but by concluding an advantageous peace, at a moment in which the progress of the Spaniards in Italy awakened his fears. A congress, under the mediation of England and the United Provinces, was accordingly assembled at Passarowitz in Servia; and while Venice, borne forward on the tide of propitious fortune, was vigorously pursuing hostilities, she learned to her surprise and indignation that a treaty July³¹, had been signed, by which her final cession of the 1718. Morea was peremptorily decided. To protract a war with Turkey after this defection of Austria was manifestly beyond the power of the republic; and she reluctantly acceded to the proposed conditions. The boundaries then fixed continued unchanged during the remainder of her political existence. Her dominions at that time, and ever afterward, comprised first the original Dogado; then, on the *Terra Firma* of Italy, the provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Verona, Vicenza, the Polesina of Rovigo, and the March of Treviso; northward, Friuli and Istria; eastward, parts of Dalmatia and of Albania, and their dependent islands; in the Ionian Sea, Corfu, Paxo, Sta. Maura, Ithaca, Zante, Asso, the Strophades, and Cérigo. The population of these territories altogether, according to a census in 1722, amounted to two million five hundred thousand souls; in 1788 it had reached three millions, of which number the city of Venice alone counted one hundred and forty-nine thousand four hundred and seventy-six inhabitants.*

From the signature of the treaty of Passarowitz to the moment of her dissolution, a period of almost eighty years, the history of Venice as connected with the rest of Europe is one entire blank. Her weakness compelled her to preserve unbroken neutrality amid all the great contests in which other powers were from time to time involved, and the sole cares of her government were directed to the maintenance of internal tranquillity by a vigilant police, of foreign peace by an active diplomacy. In this smooth and unruffled course so slight an incident as a briefly suspended intercourse with England has been thought worthy

* The census of 1816 gave little more than 103,000!

of somewhat particular record. The British government took offence at the distinctions paid to the unfortunate Charles Edward when he visited the *Lagune* in 1743 under the title of Count of Albany. It seems that when he was present at a balloting of the Grand Council a separate place was assigned him, and he was received on the principal stairs by a *cavaliere*. The petty and ungenerous jealousy which wished to deny those few, poor, empty honours a slight mitigation of the bitter remembrances of fallen greatness, demands unqualified contempt; and we relate, not without shame, that the cabinet of St. James's, then swayed by the Duke of Newcastle, indignantly ordered the Venetian ambassador to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and that during a period of five years neither the apologies of the senate nor even the mediation of Cardinal Fleury availed any thing towards the renewal of former amicable correspondence.*

Twice only after the treaty of Passarowitz did Venice appear in arms, and on neither occasion in a European quarrel. In submitting to purchase immunity from plunder at the hands of the corsairs of Africa, the republic only participated in the general dishonour of the civilized maritime world; and assented, in common with far more powerful states, to an ignoble policy which weighed with cautious balance the price of resistance against that of tribute. The tardy execution of vengeance upon those barbarian pirates has been reserved for our own days,—would that it had been for England!—and posterity will assign its fitting rank of glory to a great action which has passed under the eyes of its peculiar generation almost without regard,—stifled and overwhelmed, as it were, by more pressing and more immediate, but far less important and less durable, interests. Both in 1765 and in 1774 Venice chastised the deys of Tripoli and of Tunis with a spirit which might have shamed into imitation naval powers of yet higher station; and the name of Angelo Emo, her admiral in the latter of those expeditions, may be justly classed with many which adorned the better days of his country.

Much of the period between 1761 and 1779 was passed in struggles between the oligarchy of the Ten and the no-

* *Diado, Storia Ven.*, tom. iv. p. 421.

bles who suffered under its oppression. In the first-named year the inquisitors of state, by an exercise of despotism more fitted for long-departed ages than for the season to which they ventured to apply it, banished or secretly imprisoned many of the highest magistrates in the state who opposed their political views. So general was the consequent indignation of the Great Council, that on the next renewal of the Ten an attack similar to that made in the reign of Giovanni Cornaro was repeated; and no candidate for admission received enough balls to render his election valid. By temporizing the opposition was broken and the difficulty eluded; so that in the end the obnoxious body was confirmed in its overweening authority, greatly to the joy of the populace, by whom the nobles at large were felt to be burdensome, and who gladly therefore supported a tyranny weighing heavily on their own tyrants. Other causes renewed discussions of the same kind in 1773, in 1777, and in 1779; and on each occasion they were conducted with a boldness and a vehemence, proclaiming in a language easily to be interpreted how greatly the influence of the mysterious and inexorable tribunal which was attacked had diminished in potency.

Discarding for the future all projects of aggrandizement, and content if she could but preserve herself unharmed, Venice, during the remainder of her independent existence, sought distinction as a general mart for pleasure, and endeavoured to find in luxury a compensation for the surrender of ambition. Triumphant in pre-eminence of licentiousness, she became the Sybaris of the modern world, the loose and wanton realm

... her court where naked Venus keeps,
And Cupids ride the lion of the deeps.

Scarcely did a sun rise upon the *Lagune* uncelebrated by the pomp of some religious or political festival; the whole year was one continued holyday, in which amusement appeared to be the professed and serious occupation,—the grand and universal object of existence among their inhabitants. Besides the numerous fixed and customary ceremonials, occasions for extraordinary joy were greedily sought in the accession of a new doge, the election of a

procuratore, or the entrance of a foreign ambassador ; and the annual recurrence of the carnival seldom attracted fewer than fifty thousand strangers from all parts of Europe to mingle in the sports of St. Mark's. The general use of masks permitted unrestrained indulgence, by removing the strongest of all worldly checks,—a fear of public scandal. National consent rendered this incognito strictly inviolable ; and under its security the professed religious, whether male or female, freely participated in those forbidden pleasures which they had vowed to renounce ; the nuncio of the pope assisted at court balls ; and the gravest senator engaged at the faro bank or resorted to his *casino*, a small apartment adjoining the *Piazza*, in most instances avowedly dedicated to purposes of gallantry. A destructive passion for play was encouraged by the government, notwithstanding some occasional prohibitions compelled by the startling ruin which it produced. In the gorgeous saloon of the *Ridotto* seldom fewer than eighty gaming tables were spread nightly before a feverish throng who courted fortune masked and in silence. At each board presided one of the nobility *unmasked* and in his robes of office ; for to that class alone belonged the disgraceful monopoly of banking : and to increase their degradation, they traded in this commerce of vice, not upon their own account, but as the hired servants of some wealthy capitalist of inferior rank, who frequently was a Jew. Enervated by luxury, and far removed from the sight and sound of arms, no personal indignity, however gross, could awaken one spark of honourable resentment in the tame spirit of a Venetian noble. When insulted, he would be content to whisper that the aggressor was "*Un' elefanto* ;" and to trust his revenge to the hired arm of a professed *bravo*, one of those traffickers in blood who formed a well-known band ever ready to employ the stiletto at a regulated price. The extreme destitution of many of the patricians reduced them to expedients always unworthy, occasionally dishonest, in order to procure bare subsistence ; and a foreign visitor could scarcely escape from the officious civilities forced upon him by a penniless noble, without an oblique, and sometimes even an open, solicitation for his bounty.* The restriction

* In the sixteenth century, and perhaps later, begging licenses were

which custom had for the most part imposed upon those unhappily privileged families, by seldom permitting the marriage of more than a single member in each, the carelessness of nuptial fidelity which had superseded the former proverbial jealousy of Venetian husbands, and the dangerous facility with which divorce could be obtained, had destroyed some of the most powerful safeguards of female virtue. The courtesans, who on one occasion had been publicly banished from the capital, were recalled by an equally public edict,—which expressed gratitude for their services, assigned funds for their support, and allotted houses for their residence.* And so lucrative became their trade of misery and dishonour, that we are told of contracts formally authenticated by the signature of a magistrate, and guaranteed by a legal registry, through which the yet unsullied innocence of a virgin daughter was bartered away by some shameless parent, dead to all remorse for the guilt and infamy by which she fed the cravings of her profligate and unnatural avarice.† Surely with a people like this the measure of iniquity was not far from being full!

But not to dwell upon the crying wickedness of this abandoned city, we pass on to the hour of her visitation.

A. D. LUIGI MANINI, the doge who reigned at the outbreak of the French revolution, belonged to the lowest class of nobility; which then for the first and only time obtained the sovereignty. Still safe, as she imagined, in the passiveness which had sheltered her for seventy

officially granted to the poor of noble blood; who, in consequence, assumed a particular dress, and walked abroad under the name of *I Vergognosi*, the shamefaced. They wore an old black linen vest, falling to the feet; the head and face were covered with a sort of hood, through two apertures of which the wearer could see without being recognised by others; their shoes were patched, and they carried in their hand a paper rolled conically (*un cartoccio*), in which passengers deposited their alms, asked more by gestures than by words. After the downfall of the republic, such of the indigent nobility as applied for it received every day a miserable pittance of two Venetian livres, not quite tenpence English; and even that wretched stipend was diminished by the Austrians.

* "*Nostre benemerite meretrici.*" The *Casse Pampane* were set apart for them, whence the disreputable name *Carampana*.—Daru. They were much employed as spies.

† Daru, from Mayer, *Descript. de Venise*, tom. ii.; and Archenholz, *Tableau de l'Italie*, tom. i. ch. ii.

years, Venice disregarded every warning of the gathering tempest; and remained inactive, while other states were vigilantly guarding against its approaches. Nevertheless, her inclination in behalf of the fallen monarchy was not indistinctly revealed by the marked honours which she paid to some of the emigrant princes while they resided in her capital, and by the withdrawal of her ambassador on the establishment of the new republic. It was not till the overthrow of Robespierre that she renewed her diplomatic intercourse with France; and then, by a weak contradiction, she at the same moment afforded an honourable asylum in Verona to the Comte de Lille, brother of the murdered king, and admitted the entrance of a minister deputed by the regicides. Terrified, however, by the success of the French arms at the close of their first campaign in Italy, she ungenerously listened to the remonstrances of the Directory, and agreed to remove from her dominions that illustrious exile, upon whom, by the more than questionable death of his unhappy nephew, the crown of France had devolved. "I will quit your territories," was the dignified reply of the high-minded prince; "but I first demand your Golden Book, that I may erase from it the name of my family; and next the armour which my ancestor Henry IV. presented as a token of amity to your republic."*

The early victories of Bonaparte at Montenotte, at Millesimo, and at Lodi had opened to him the Venetian territories in his pursuit of the routed Austrians; and his first interview with a *providitore*, despatched to him at Brescia in order to ascertain his further views, was by no means calculated to sooth the alarm created by his invasion in the breasts of the signory. He complained bitterly of their vacillation, and of their permitting the Austrians, whom, if really neutral, they ought to have opposed, to occupy the important post of Peschiera, which had cost him a battle. He announced that he had received orders from his government to burn Verona; and that Massena was already on his march to execute that stern purpose, on the very night of their present conference. This crafty menace produced the effect which he desired;

* Probably the sword worn at the battle of Yvry. See p. 245.
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the gates of Verona were instantly opened, and the city was occupied by a French garrison. Meantime, Bonaparte amused the signory with offers of alliance, and proposed a confederacy with France, the Porte, and Russia, against Austria, the common enemy of them all. But Venice continued unmoved from her neutrality; and the offer did but tend to confirm her in a fond belief that the French were by no means securely established in their Italian conquests. The fresh successes of Bonaparte, on the renewal of the same memorable campaign, must have dissipated that hope; yet hatred of the French name, a reasonable mistrust of the sincerity of the negotiator, a natural adherence to long-approved policy, and a fear of the persevering enmity of Austria, if once offended, combined to prevent acceptance of the former proposition when repeated. And although the signory had long since assembled troops, and maintained a war establishment, she professed in reply, that peace and an unarmed neutrality were her only objects.

Nor were tenders of alliance wanting from another court, equally opposed to the aggrandizement of either France or Austria; and perhaps the fate of Venice might have been averted, if she had not rejected advantageous overtures from the Prussian cabinet, at the close of 1796. In the succeeding spring, the hard-fought battle of Rivoli and the surrender of Mantua placed all Northern Italy within the grasp of the French, and compelled the emperor to negotiate. Under circumstances thus unfavourable to Venice, the conferences at Leoben were opened; and during their progress, the evil feeling entertained against her by the Directory was plainly avowed in manifestoes. Her destiny indeed was already fixed; and one of Bonaparte's first communications with his friend and secretary Bourrienne, when he joined him at that moment, regarded her approaching extinction. "Be at ease," were his remarkable words; "those rogues shall pay for it; their republic *has* lived!"* In March, a faction which the intrigues of the revolutionary government had long encouraged at Bergamo, Brescia, Salò, and Crema, imboldened by the presence of

* "Sois tranquille, ces cequins-là me le paieront; leur république a vécu."—Mem. vol. i. ch. ii.

French troops, and stimulated, as there can be little doubt, by their commander, renounced their allegiance, expelled their *podestà*, and erected municipalities. To the representations of the signory concerning these insurrections, Bonaparte replied by disclaiming any share in their production ; and he terminated an interview with the *provveditore* by an unexpected demand of a monthly subsidy of a million of francs. When the envoy started with surprise, Bonaparte reminded him that the Duke of Modena, a fugitive from his own dominions, had deposited all his treasure in the Bank of Venice. The confiscation of those funds, he said, would afford a ready source for payment, and they were in truth the actual property of France, as the spoil of one of her enemies. If this reasoning were not altogether conclusive, the words with which he finished scarcely admitted contradiction. Taking the Venetian deputy by the arm, he added, " Either your republic or my army must perish if you decline. Think well of your decision ; and do not hazard the valetudinarian Lion of St. Mark against the fortune of conquerors, who will find in their hospitals, and among their wounded, sufficient men to cross your *Lagune* !" Two hundred senators assembled to discuss this demand, and only seven balls opposed the concession !

Meanwhile, the mountaineers of Brescia and Bergamo, who still preserved their fidelity, and were goaded to desperation by the brutal licentiousness of their invaders, had taken arms, and had gained more than one advantage in desultory warfare against the French detachments. Some inquietude was excited by these movements ; and Junot was despatched to the signory with a remonstrance couched in menacing terms, which produced only an evasive answer. A considerable force of regular Italian and Sclavonian troops, and a yet larger body of armed peasants, were concentrated in and about Verona, while the French retained possession of all its forts ; and on the 17th of April a calamitous struggle occurred in that city. Amid the manifold causes of mutual irritation which existed, and the conflicting statements of the opposite parties, it is not possible to decide upon which of the two must rest the blame of prior aggression ; but in a murderous affray, which lasted during the afternoon of the 17th, the whole of the inter-

316 FIERCE DENUNCIATIONS BY BONAPARTE.

vening night, and many hours of the following day, the French, much inferior in numbers, were besieged in their forts ; and nearly five hundred of them, scattered in separate quarters, or lying in the hospitals, were put to death, while the citadel fired red-hot balls upon the town and its infuriated populace. This agitation continued, with more or less violence, during four days ; and it was not until the arrival of a powerful reinforcement from the French headquarters, and a simultaneous announcement that preliminaries of peace with the emperor were signed, that the Veronese wholly abandoned their hope of deliverance, and submitted in despair.

This tumult occurred most seasonably for the ultimate designs of Bonaparte. He gladly exaggerated its outrages ; and in order to impress a deeper horror, he brought to mind one of the most savage occurrences in modern history, and assimilating the recent conflict to the Sicilian Vespers, he named it *Les Pâques Veronaises*. His first question when he received the deputies through whom the signory addressed explanations (as soon as the beginning of the affray at Verona was known, but before either party was acquainted with its issue), was an inquiry whether certain persons who had been thrown into prison at Venice for disseminating revolutionary opinions, and whose freedom he had demanded, were yet released ? "Every soul," he exclaimed, "must be delivered : all are friends of France. If they are not restored, I will come in person, and burn your *Piombi*. Opinion must now be free !" Then, interrupting some counter representation, and pursuing an harangue evidently prepared for the occasion, he added, "If all who have outraged France are not punished, if the prisoners are not released, the British minister dismissed, the population disarmed, and choice made at once between France and England, I hereby declare war against you ! I have eighty thousand men and twenty gun-boats. There shall be no more inquisition ; no more senate ; and I will prove another Attila to Venice ! I no longer offer you alliance, but dictation. I will disarm your rabble if your government has too little power for the purpose ; and that government is so decrepit that it must now fall to pieces !"

Before the *provveditori* had taken final leave, they received a despatch from the signory announcing one more untoward event, which it was manifest would fearfully augment the stern, bitter, and vindictive spirit already evinced by Bonaparte. A French vessel had been fired upon at Lido, several of her crew, among whom was Laugier, her captain, had been killed, and the remainder taken prisoners. Once again the trembling deputies obtained a conference; and the demands which they carried back to the capital were, the surrender of the admiral commanding at Lido, of the governor of its fort,* and of the three inquisitors of state, in order that they might atone, by an exemplary punishment, for the French blood which had been wantonly spilled. Without awaiting a reply, Bonaparte published an indignant manifesto, recapitulating his causes of offence against Venice, and immediately advanced upon the *Lagune*. So few are the names demanding respect during the rapid catastrophe which followed, that we gladly relieve the tame and inglorious narrative by even a single instance of generous bearing. When Bonaparte entered Treviso, on this march, he ordered Angelo Giustiniani, its *provveditore*, to quit the city within two hours, on pain of being shot. The noble Venetian, worthy of the illustrious blood which flowed in his veins, replied that he depended solely upon his government, and that he could not abandon his post without express orders from the signory.

To oppose an invasion of her capital, Venice at that time counted within her own circuit nearly fifteen thousand troops; stores and provisions sufficient for eight months' consumption filled her magazines; fresh water for two months was contained in her reservoirs on the Lido; and the sea was open for a continued renewal of supplies. All her ancient fortresses were garrisoned; some new works had been constructed; and in the different channels of ap-

* When the French took possession of Venice, this officer, who had acted under orders, was excluded from all command. Thus reduced to poverty, he applied, under the Austrian government, to the emperor, and received assurances of assistance. He died, however, neglected, and in misery; and when Mr. Rose was in Venice, in 1817, one of his sons was employed in piecing the tessellated pavement in St. Mark's.—*Letters from the North of Italy*, ii. 62.

proach were distributed thirty-seven galleys, and one hundred and sixty-eight armed barks, mounting altogether, seven hundred and fifty cannon, and manned by eight thousand seamen. This was no insufficient force for the defence of a city whose inhabitants, twice before, when pent within the narrow basin of their waters, had broken forth triumphantly; shattering to the dust the pride of Genoa, or holding in check the might of nearly all confederated Europe. But the spirit of former ages had passed away; and the gold, the sophisms, and the terror of France were operating, each probably with equal force, upon the treachery, the weakness, and the cowardice of the Venetian nobles, in acceleration of their ruin.

It was on the 30th of April that the signory commenced their work of self-destruction, by summoning an extraordinary assembly (*conferenza*) of forty-three of the highest magistrates, in the private apartments of the doge; thus illegally depriving the senate of its constitutional superintendence of state affairs. During their sitting, as it grew late, the port-admiral announced that the French were constructing batteries on the edge of the *Lagune*, and that he only waited orders from the senate to destroy them. How ill adapted to such an emergency were the hands in which power was deposited may be judged from the words which escaped the Doge Manini on opening that despatch. Instead of ordering an immediate attack, he turned pale, and staggering through the chamber, faltered out, in a tone of despair, "This very night we are by no means sure of sleeping securely in our beds!" Half-measures only could be expected from a temper thus miserably pusillanimous; and the admiral was accordingly instructed, in the same breath, to prevent the continuance of the French works, and to open negotiations for an armistice. Before these orders reached him, the sound of a distant cannonade informed the city that he had already anticipated the bolder part of them on his own responsibility.

On the following day consternation spread through the city; the *Piazza* was thronged with troops and cannon; the narrow streets were traversed by patrols; and amid this general alarm, the Grand Council, having received from the terrified doge such a report of the condition of the re-

public as his fears engendered, decreed a fresh mission to Bonaparte; with authority to consent to his latest demands,—a modification in the government. The envoys were received with fresh bursts of unrestrained indignation; the blood of Laugier, said the general, could be washed away only by that of his guilty murderers; and the nobles of Venice should be driven from their hearths to wander abroad as destitute emigrants. An armistice of six days, which he at length granted, afforded time for new proofs of weakness and indecision in the council. A few more elevated spirits—and their names ought not to be forgotten in this dearth of virtue,—Priuli, Calbo, Pesaro, and Erizzo, were among them,—advocated resistance to the last gasp, and would have maintained independence with their lives. But they were silenced contemptuously, and denounced as rash, headlong, and ignorant enthusiasts. It was averred that the Slavonian garrison had shown symptoms of insubordination; a popular revolutionary movement was declared to be on the very eve of explosion; and images of blood, pillage, and massacre floated before the morbid imagination, and prompted the feeble measures of the bribed or infatuated assembly. During another sitting, on the 12th of May, when a few straggling musket-shots were heard on the *Piazza*, the confusion within the chamber became instant and general; and the nobles, as if either not knowing or not caring how to fail with decency,* rose from their seats with loud cries, “To the vote! to the vote!” The urns were handed round; five hundred and twelve affirmative balls, in opposition to twelve negative and five neutral, prostrated the republic at the feet of the French general, surrendered the capital at discretion, and proclaimed that the most ancient government in the world, which had just completed the eleventh century of its sway, was no longer in existence.

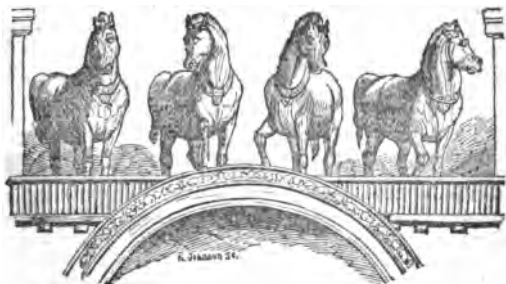
A night of tumult and anarchy succeeded; and it was not till four days afterward that, full preparations having been made for their admission, a Venetian flotilla transported to the *Piazzetta* a division of three thousand French. The giddy rabble saluted their conquerors with shouts of

* ΜΙΚΡΗΝ πρόνοιαν εἶχον εὐσχημῶς περὶ

joy ; and the following weeks were employed in some of those empiric mummeries by which the mountebanks of jacobinism were wont to cajole the simplicity of their gaping and unsuspecting dupes. The Golden Book was burned at the foot of the tree of liberty, while the patriarch and his clergy administered the oath of fraternization ; and the scriptural legend on the Gospel held by the Lion of St. Mark, having been erased, those vague catch-words of revolution, "the rights of man and of citizenship," were substituted in its place. This change of motto was not likely to be passed unnoticed by the ready wit of the careless gondoliers ; and one of them remarked, that "the Lion, for the first time, had turned over a new leaf."

But the dream of pure republicanism, and of that liberty which it was credulously supposed to bestow, was not long to amuse the excited fancy of the now conquered and enslaved Venetians. The treaty of Campo Formio was announced in October, and by its terms,—according to the institutes of that detestable code of robbery by which modern pacifications have so frequently been disgraced ; in pursuance of that fraudulent traffic in the rights of independent nations, that mode of wholesale transfer in diplomatic commerce by which states and kingdoms are valued only as a kind of circulating medium in the balance of political accounts, and are passed from hand to hand like so many bills of exchange, or parchment securities,—the partition of the Venetian territory was ultimately arranged. For her cession of the Low Countries, Austria was indemnified by Istria, Dalmatia, the city of Venice, and the remainder of the *Dogado* ; France claimed the Ionian Islands ; and Bergamo, Brescia, and other portions of *Terra Firma* were annexed to the short-lived Cisalpine republic. The French, before their departure, as if unwilling to leave to the people whom they had erased from separate and independent existence any memorial which might recall their former greatness, broke up the Bucentaur, and transported to Paris, among innumerable other gems of art, the brazen horses recording the glory of Enrico Dandolo. Their cupidity was disappointed in the contents of the arsenal : two sixty-four gun ships, four brigs, and a few transports were all that remained within its basins, as ghosts of departed maritime empire. It was on

the 18th of January, 1798, that the Austrians entered upon possession of their new province ; and transferred to their own annals,—until some future revolution shall terminate those also,—all that hereafter may be related in connexion with the HISTORY OF VENICE.



The Horses of St. Mark's.

THE END.

